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AN INTRODUCTION TO
OLD TESTAMENT STUDY



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AN INTRODUCTION
TO
OLD TESTAMENT STUDY
FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

BY
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AUTHOR OF 'S. PAUL AND HIS COMPANIONS'

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1920

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TO TEACHERS
ON WHOM LIES THE GREAT RESPONSIBILITY
OF SAFEGUARDING THE FAITH
OF OUR CHILDREN
THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED
BY A FELLOW-TEACHER

FOREWORD

ALL will agree that the writer of this book has bravely undertaken a difficult task. His object has been to meet the needs more especially of Teachers, who, through lack of acquaintance with Biblical scholarship, have been placed at a disadvantage in the endeavour to give instruction upon books of the Bible. There are always some who do not know how to answer quite simple questions raised by pupils upon Old Testament difficulties. There are others who are quite unaware of the wealth of literary and historical, as well as of religious, interest which is contained in the Old Testament Scriptures. My young friend, Mr. Redlich, has felt for some time past that it might be of great practical help to Teachers if the general outlines of recent Biblical studies were summarized in a popular form, and were then reinforced by a series of carefully prepared questions. His book, therefore, has the twofold merit (1) of being constructive in character, and (2) of meeting the problems of students.

The present juncture is surely well suited for the presentation of this kind of frank statement. Nothing could be more harmful than that the Church of Christ should be supposed to shrink from telling the people what it believes to be the truth. Much, of

course, will always depend upon the measure of sympathy and understanding which accompanies the statement of the facts. But the vague suspicion that the Church suppresses its true convictions cannot be permitted to pass unchallenged or unrefuted. Christian thought has undergone a great revolution in its conception of the Holy Scriptures, since the days of John Wesley or J. H. Newman. Few people realize the magnitude of our obligation to the Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses in our Elementary Schools. They are "in the front line" in the ceaseless battle against ignorance. Anything that we can do to promote the efficiency of their work will be for the ultimate good of the community at large. In the department of Scripture Knowledge no less than in that of Physical Science, every genuine teacher will wish to keep in touch with the progress of the best learning of the day. I have good hopes that Mr. Redlich's book will be found of great practical utility to those whom he especially desires to aid. Having had the privilege of reading it in manuscript, I have great pleasure in warmly commending it to the attentive study of those in whose behalf he has laboured with whole-hearted industry and with real enthusiasm during the scanty leisure of his official duties. He would not expect me to identify myself with every opinion of which he has delivered himself. But he has honestly and courageously sought to interpret the more modern and more scientific method of Bible study and to demonstrate its value in dealing with those difficulties "inherent," as Dr. Selbie has justly said, "in the older and more rigid views of the Bible and of Revelation."

We may rest assured that the more unflinchingly we pursue the line of investigation which the laws of literary science require, the more certainly shall we ultimately find the reward of patience and of faith. The Divine Spirit has been guiding us in these days into a fuller and richer appreciation of the progressive message of the Old Testament Scriptures in their preparation for the coming of Jesus Christ our Lord.

HERBERT RYLE.

THE DEANERY,
WESTMINSTER.

PREFACE

THIS book is written chiefly for teachers and students in the hope that they will by its help gain some knowledge of the real value of the Old Testament and of the meaning of Inspiration, the popular notion of which, that it is mechanical, has been a cause of great disquietude and fear in teaching. In the chapter on Literature I have set out as simply as I can the arguments for composite authorship and tried to enforce its value; the stories generally known and taught have been examined and their difficulties explained. In the succeeding chapters my aim has been to state in a concise form the fundamental ideas which may be noticed in the O.T. and which help us to understand other O.T. difficulties. The main thought throughout is the Jewish preparation for Christ.

At the end of the book will be found hints for teachers and outlines of lessons for presentation to children. There are also three sets of Questions with Answers.

I believe this is the first time that an attempt of this nature has been made. My only plea for writing this book is the urgent need of safeguarding the faith of our children, not only in view of attacks

made on their faith in later life by means of insidious questions of anti-Christians, but also in view of the advanced teaching in schools to be set up under the Education Act of 1918. In these and other schools of a Secondary character, the teaching in our Elementary schools, public and private, will be put to the test (if it is not so already) and both what the teachers have taught and what they have not taught will be compared and contrasted. Provision ought therefore to be made to meet this situation.

I am under a deep debt of gratitude to Bishop Ryle, the Dean of Westminster, for his sympathy, help, and encouragement. From himself personally, and from his books and writings, I have learned much. In this book I have purposely refrained from references to authors and books, but I feel I ought to mention particularly that I have drawn heavily on Chapman's Introduction to the *Pentateuch*, Ryle's *Genesis*, Driver's *Exodus*, and other volumes of the Cambridge Bible for Schools in the Revised Version; the Century Bible Series has been invaluable. To the writers and books mentioned in the Bibliography I owe everything.

E. BASIL REDLICH.

WAKEFIELD,

Advent, 1919.

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CHAPTER I

LITERATURE

THE Jews in the time of our Lord were a people of one book. This book was the Old Testament. From it they drew their inspiration, their rules of life and conduct ; on it they based their ritual and ordered their worship ; it was their creed and their charter.'

Who wrote the books of the Old Testament ? How were they formed and collected ? Why were they held authoritative and others refused recognition ? These questions imply others. Did Moses write the first five books, Joshua and Samuel the books that bear their names ? When were the books admitted into the Canon as being inspired and therefore authoritative ?

Let us first try to understand something of the Hebrew Bibles and the way they were written, for it is from them that our English versions are derived. In ancient times, books were written, not printed, and there are many of these manuscripts in existence to-day. All these Hebrew mss. come from an official Hebrew Text, which was settled by scholars known as the Massoretes about 900 years after Christ ;

this Massoretic text goes back to a single original text dating about 100 A.D. Thus, as Moses lived about 1200 B.C., the earliest of the mss. we possess were written 2100 years after Moses, but the original text of 100 A.D., which is not in existence to-day, may be reconstructed, though the work is extremely difficult. One consideration will enable us to realise the complex and laborious nature of this reconstruction. The original text was written with consonants only, and in consequence it was hard to read and was liable to be read differently by different scholars ; in order to get an official text, the Massoretic scholars introduced a system of punctuation to indicate the vowel sounds, and this vowel-system probably represented the pronunciation current at the time of the original text of 100 A.D. Further, in these early days care was not taken in copying ; copyists deliberately made alterations, the scribes being not the least offenders. To take a single instance. The word Baal had become offensive to religious sentiment and its occurrence as a compound of a Jewish name was abhorrent ; the word was therefore eliminated and Bosheth (=shame) substituted in its place. Thus Ishbaal became Ishbosheth, and Meribbaal Mephibosheth.

In order therefore to get at a correct text of the Bible, recourse is made to Versions in other languages. One of these is the Greek translation of the Old Testament which was made at Alexandria about 250 years before Christ ; it is known as the Septuagint and is written LXX. The LXX does not always correspond with the Hebrew ; each contains passages wanting in the other, but they serve to correct

difficulties and clear up imperfect renderings. For example, in the Hebrew text on which our Old Testament is based there are no words to tell us what Cain said unto Abel his brother in Gen. 4⁸, but on referring to the margin of our R.V. we find many ancient authorities (including the LXX) read "said unto Abel his brother, Let us go into the field." This Greek version was used by the early Christians, and many of the Old Testament quotations found in the New Testament agree with the LXX rather than with the Hebrew. Another well known Version is the Vulgate, which is in Latin and is the book of the Roman Church. It was a translation made by S. Jerome about 420 A.D. from the original Hebrew.

The Titles.

Our authorised Version gives titles such as the following : " The first book of Moses, called Genesis."

" The second book of Moses, called Exodus." " The first book of Samuel, otherwise called, the first book of the Kings." These titles, such as Genesis, Exodus, First Samuel, are descriptive of the contents of the books and are derived directly from the Vulgate and ultimately from the LXX. But they are not found in the Hebrew Bibles ; in these the first five books of the Old Testament are, " In the beginning," " The names," " And he called," " And he spake," and " These are the words," which are the opening words of each book. The Pentateuch, as the first five books are called, and the historical books were anonymous. But when, after the exile, the Scribes came into existence, they found anonymity a trial, and proceeded to assign these books which bore no

name to Moses, Joshua, Samuel, etc.; even Adam and Abraham were each given a Psalm! The tradition of authorship therefore has no historical value; neither have the summaries at the heads of the chapters, nor the dates, assigned by Archbishop Ussher, still foolishly printed in the margins.

How Books were written.

A modern writer before publishing a book, studies his subject, makes notes, verifies his facts, tests his conclusions, and finally writes his book in his own words and style; the book shows us his thoughts and his conceptions; it is original, the product of his mind. If he makes quotations, he states his sources and puts the quotations within inverted commas; he gives his references; his name is on the title page of the book as well as the name of his publishers and the date of publication.

An ancient writer acted quite otherwise. If he owned a book written by another he felt no scruple in dealing with it as he wished; he altered, added, omitted, and adapted; he copied wholesale from it and other books, taking whole passages and verses from them, fitting them together and claiming them as his own. He never gave references, or used inverted commas; it mattered not to him if the styles, vocabularies, and points of view of his sources varied. He aimed at an approximate coherence in his book. His name as "Author" was not given on a title page. We have an instructive illustration in the Chronicles, which is an adaptation of chapters from Samuel and Kings (cf. 1 K. 22¹⁻³⁵ with 2 C. 18²⁻³⁴ and 2 K. 14 with 2 C. 25); we see it in the New

Testament, where S. Mark's Gospel is found almost wholly in S. Matthew and S. Luke. Thus no scruple was felt in ancient days in dealing with the very letters of God's Word. The writer of an ancient book is therefore a compiler rather than an author. He would put in a connecting word or words to make his narrative hold together. Naturally in such a production we cannot expect to find the whole of the sources from which it was compiled ; the portions that were not included in it would be discarded.

Further books were preserved by transcription ; they were copied and copyists are liable to make strange mistakes. A passage could easily be omitted, for if the copyist took his eye away from the text, similar words might catch his eye lower down and he would continue there. An illustration of such a double mistake is as follows : In I Samuel 14⁴¹ our R.V. reads, " Therefore Saul said unto the LORD, the God of Israel, shew the right. And Jonathan and Saul were taken *by lot* : but the people escaped." The LXX gives a fuller text. " Therefore Saul said, O LORD, God of Israel, (Why hast thou not answered thy servant this day ? If the iniquity be in me or in my son Jonathan, LORD, God of Israel) give (Urim ; but if thou sayest thus, the iniquity is in thy people Israel, give) Thummim. And Saul and Jonathan were taken . . . " The copyist let his eye slip from the first ' Israel ' to the second, and from ' give ' to ' give.'

Again, writing material was scarce, consequently notes and remarks were made on every available space between the lines and on the margins ; a later copyist would insert these notes and remarks into

the text. We take as an example 1 Kings 22²⁸, where an uncritical editor identified Micaiah with Micah and wrote on the margin "And he said, Hear ye peoples, all of you" from Micah 1². Thus it came into our text.

A sidelight may be thrown on this by a single instance. A writer who firmly believed that a true priesthood belonged only to the tribe of Levi, to which Moses and Aaron belonged, noticed this passage in Judges 18³⁰, "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Danites." The Danites were held by the writer to be wrongly in possession of a Mosaic priesthood and he proceeded to alter the text. Now with consonants only, Moses (Heb. *Mōsheh*) would be written MSH; the writer inserted the letter N above the line in MSH and it read M^NSH. The last Hebrew word with vowels inserted easily read Manasseh. The A.V. reading compared with the R.V. shows the alteration; the former gives Manasseh, the latter rightly Moses.

Who wrote the O.T. books?

If, then, the titles in our English versions do not help us, and the authorship of the books is nowhere stated in the Bible, some other means must be adopted to enable us to trace them. We have this means, for we can refer to the *books themselves*. They can speak to us and help us to see the Bible as it really is; for in the Bible we find various styles, vocabularies, mental attitudes, and religious outlooks; and no two writers possess these characteristics in common. Just as the varied styles of architecture of a cathedral

point to the various ages of construction or just as a picture by its pigments, canvas material, and other points enable experts to identify the painter even though a sign picture or the initials or name in a corner of the picture are wanting, so do the characteristics of style, language and outlook in the books of the Bible.

When we examine the O.T. to discover what evidence they themselves supply we get an almost infallible guide to help us to trace the compilers and authors, and the process of compilation. The Pentateuch and the Historical Books teach us two important facts. They were compiled by schools of writers who used older existing records, compiled by older schools of writers. All these schools read into the past the thoughts, ideas, and beliefs of their own times.

For example, there was a Deuteronomic school which flourished between 650 and 450 B.C.; they used books already written and revised them in the spirit of their age, attributing to the past their own beliefs and ideas. Another school, known as the Priestly school, flourished from about 550 B.C.; they used older records, including that of the Deuteronomic school, in compiling the first six books of the Bible; they edited all these records, and included in the compilation their own writings which were written on the assumption that religious rites, practices, ideals, and worship of their own day existed in more remote times. They wrote in this spirit, although the older records stated contrary truths and facts. The aim of both schools was noble; desiring to bring about a reformation in religion they set before the

people ideas, principles, rules of worship by which the reformation could be effected. They wrote laws in a framework of history, and interpreted history by laws of religion. They did not create new laws but adapted laws already existing; thus their writings contain not only traces of customs of earlier days, but give us valuable information of practices which were subsequent to the dates of the schools of writers.

The result of such a process of compiling and editing is to be seen in the O.T. Each school has (*a*) its characteristic style of writing and its characteristic vocabulary, (*b*) its characteristic religious outlook, and its characteristic conception of God. It is on these lines that we shall now examine the Bible to learn what the Bible has to tell us.

O.T. Difficulties.

We learn much more than how to trace the sources of the Pentateuch and the Historical Books; we obtain the only satisfying and satisfactory explanation of the historical, moral, and religious difficulties which are a stumbling block to teachers and students of the O.T.; we are enabled to read the O.T. from the point of view of the past, to enter into the life and ideas of the past, and to learn how God disclosed Himself by divers manners and by divers portions, revealing Himself by progressive stages suitable to the capacity of the people whom He had chosen to be His agent. We discover the key to many of the riddles of the O.T., we get the answer to many of the difficulties which tend to undermine our faith, we are prepared to meet the puerile and insidious attacks made on our faith through the contradictions and

inconsistencies and inaccuracies of the O.T. We shall face our difficulties frankly and unhesitatingly, for by solving them and resolving our doubts the O.T. becomes a living and arrestingly instructive book and is recognised for what it really is—a preparation for the coming of Christ.

The narrative problems of the O.T.

Composite authorship is the key to the problem of the O.T. In other words, the Pentateuch was not written by Moses but compiled from different records written many hundred years after the great lawgiver lived ; the historical books, and in fact all the books of the O.T., were written, compiled, and edited by various writers at different periods.

Let us begin our study by considering two striking examples of contradictions and see how composite authorship explains them.

The revelation of the Divine name.

Exodus 3¹⁵. And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, Jehovah,¹ the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you.

Exodus 6²⁻³. And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am JEHOVAH ; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH I was not known to them.

¹ In our English versions LORD or GOD in small capitals represents the Hebrew Jehovah.

The style of these two quotations is different ; in the first as against the second there is no reference to the title by which God was known to the Patriarchs, and also in the preceding verse 3¹⁴ the meaning of Jehovah is given.

Turning to the second passage we note remarkable points, for in Ex. 6^{2, 3} God (Heb. *Elohim*) says that He was known to the Patriarchs by a title God Almighty (Heb. *El Shaddai*) and that He was revealing Himself to Moses by His personal name Jehovah *for the first time* ; by this personal name He was *not* known to the Patriarchs. The revelation of God is, in fact, progressive and gradual, first Elohim, then El Shaddai, then Jehovah.

Now consider such a text as Gen. 15⁷, where God speaks to Abraham and says, " I am Jehovah that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees," or such a text as Gen. 28¹³, where God speaks to Jacob and says, " I am Jehovah, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac."

The contradiction between the verses from Genesis and that of Ex. 6³ is glaring. We can never say of God that He contradicts Himself. He could not say to Moses that He was not known by the name of Jehovah to the Patriarchs and yet speak to the Patriarchs by the same name. The only conclusion we can draw is that the author of Gen. 15⁷ and 28¹³, is not the author of Ex. 6^{2, 3}, and did not know of the revelation to Moses. Further, Ex. 3^{14, 15} implies what Ex. 6³ says of the special revelation of the name Jehovah ; the author of Ex. 3^{14, 15} is therefore not the author of Gen. 15⁷ and 28¹³. Lastly, the style and vocabulary of Ex. 3^{14, 15} is not the same as those of

Ex. 6^{2,3}; they are parallel statements of the same fact. Thus we must allow the existence of three distinct sources or alternately allow that God stultifies Himself.

Let us examine three more references to the Divine name. Gen. 17¹, "I am God Almighty; walk before me, and be thou perfect." Gen. 28³, "And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful and multiply thee." Gen. 35¹¹, "I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply."

Here God speaks to Abraham (17¹) and Jacob (35¹¹) by the title God Almighty and is known to Isaac (28³) as such. This is quite consistent with the statement in Ex. 6^{2,3}, and therefore the same writer evidently wrote Gen. 17¹, 28³, 35¹¹, Ex. 6^{2,3}. The theological representation of God is the same in these passages.

The Decalogue or Ten Commandments.

There are in the O.T. three versions of the Ten Commandments in Ex. 20¹⁻¹⁷, 34¹⁴⁻²⁶, Deut. 5⁶⁻²¹.

In Ex. 34¹ Jehovah said to Moses, "Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon the tables the words that were on the first. . ." We read later on in the chapter that Moses wrote them, presumably spending 40 days and nights in engraving the words. But the version in Ex. 34 is not only wholly at variance with that in Ex. 20, but many of the commandments are different altogether in subject matter, *e.g.* Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. Again we ask—Can God contradict Himself? The true explanation lies in the fact that different writers are giving us different

versions, and not in a theory that Moses wrote Exodus.

Again in Ex. 24¹², 31¹⁸, Deut. 4¹³, 10¹⁻⁵, it is stated that God wrote the Ten Commandments of Ex. 20 with His own hand and the second tables were a replica of the first; the tables were in the charge of Moses and preserved by him in the Ark. Being written by God, no man dare alter a word or in any way tamper with one jot or iota in them—certainly not Moses. Yet when the Decalogue in Ex. is compared with that in Deut., a book which purports to give us the final words of Moses, there are striking changes, particularly in the 4th and 10th commandments, *e.g.* in Deut. 5¹²⁻¹⁵, the reference to the creation, “For in six days, etc.” is wanting, and the motive of the observance of the Sabbath is altogether different, being here ascribed to the deliverance from Egypt. In the 10th (Deut. 5²¹) the wife gets her rightful place, and is not classed with the chattels of her husband as in Ex. 20; such a social change could not take place in a short period. Are we to assume that Moses who of all men should have preserved laws written by God, deliberately altered the writing of God? This is impossible; but in examining the styles of Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy we get the true explanation. The author of Ex. 20 is not the author of Deut. 5; the two codes were produced by two different literary schools. The author of Ex. 20 is one of the three schools of writers discovered by our study of the Revelation of the Divine Name; and any reader who even cursorily notices the flowing rhythmical style of Deut. will see how different it is from any of the styles in Gen.—as different as the

style of S. John's Gospel is from any one of the other Gospels.

So with the ten commandments in Ex. 34 ; in style, contents, conception of God they are diverse from the other two codes, and belong to one of the three schools already traced. We have in fact three versions by three different literary schools.

There was not therefore in olden days any scruple against the free handling of what might be held to be the pure word of God, written by Him. At the same time these various versions lead us to a conclusion of some importance. There was a Code of Laws produced by Moses, probably in a simple form, and from it were developed the Codes given us in Exodus and Deut.

To the three schools discovered, we can now add a fourth, that of the school which wrote Deut. It might be as well to state them at this stage, for they are practically the only literary schools which are represented in the first six books of the O.T.

The Jehovist School, which uses Jehovah before the revelation to Moses and wrote the Decalogue of Exodus 34.

The Elohist School, which wrote Exodus 3¹⁴ and the Decalogue of Exodus 20.

The Deuteronomic School.

The Priestly School, which wrote Exodus 6²⁻³.

The four schools are generally represented by J, E, D, and P respectively.

We now proceed to make a study of longer sections of the O.T. in order that we may trace the characteristics of these four schools and learn how the difficulties of the O.T. narratives are to be explained.

The Creation story.

There are two parallel accounts in Genesis 1-2^{4a}, and 2^{4b-25}. The first account ends, as we shall see, with the first part of verse 4 of chapter 2 (written as above 2^{4a}).

I. We will in the first place study the **STYLE** of the first Creation story. We notice the writer's fondness for peculiar words—after its kind, likeness, male and female, bring forth abundantly. He uses them often. He has a peculiar style of phrasing—herb yielding seed, divide the waters from the waters, fruit tree bearing fruit—a style akin to that of a lawyer who aims at precision, whereas a writer with a non-legal turn of mind would have written herb, divide the waters, fruit tree. (2) A partiality for formulae which constantly recur. “And God said, Let there be . . . and it was so . . . and God saw that it was good . . . and there was evening and there was morning, one day. There is also a characteristic formula, “These are the generations . . .” which is found quite twelve times in Genesis. (3) A striking combination of words of almost similar meaning, lawyer-like in statement, “Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill” 1^{22, 28} (often found in Genesis). (4) A very peculiar redundancy of style where a second clause repeats in almost identical words an idea expressed in the preceding clause.

“God created man in his own image,
in the image of God created he him”

(5) The use without exception of the word “God” (Heb. *Elohim*) for the Deity.

The style of this Creation story is thus seen to be

precise, formal, stereotyped, and lawyer-like; there is a special vocabulary; the writer is partial to statistical and chronological details; he does not use Jehovah; he ends the Creation story by mentioning a specially Jewish observance, the Sabbath. Passing to the second account (2^{4b-25}), the difference of style is remarkable. Not one of the five characteristics of style of the first account is present; there are no peculiar words or phrases, no recurring formulae, no striking combination of words, no redundancy, and as remarkable is the totally different word for Deity who is referred to as LORD God, that is Jehovah (or more correctly Jahveh) Elohim. On the contrary we have a vivid picturesque style; the narrative lives before us; Jehovah creates not in the sense that God created the heavens and the earth (1-2^{4a}) but as a potter fashions his vessels from clay. Thus the STYLE by itself proves that there are two writers.

II. There is a second line of proof which is as instructive and conclusive. It is that of THEOLOGY. In the first Creation story, God creates by word of mouth; He speaks and it is done; there is no physical contact with the thing created. He exists apart from the material universe, that is He is transcendent. He is the God of all Creation, of heaven and earth, and there is no other God; this is monotheism (= only one God). The writer's theology is the purest transcendental monotheism.

In the second Creation story, Jehovah is represented acting as a man, that is to say, the conception of Jehovah is anthropomorphic. He moulds man out of dust, breathes into his nostril, plants a garden and

puts the man there, brings animals to the man, takes a rib out of Adam and builds it into a woman. The same representation meets us in the story of the Fall and of Cain and Abel, in portions of the Flood story, the story of the Tower of Babel, etc. He makes clothes, His footsteps are heard as He walks, He shuts Noah into the ark, and smells the savours of the sacrifice, wrestles with Jacob, seeks to slay Moses because his son was uncircumcised (Ex. 4²⁴⁻²⁶), Himself takes off the chariot wheels of the Egyptians. Further, Jehovah is even naïvely represented by this writer as fearing that Adam and Eve might become immortal (3^{22, 23}), and that men might become omnipotent (11⁶). Moses even contradicts and corrects Jehovah (Ex. 19²³).

The conception of Jehovah is thus primitive and childlike, but the writer's desire is to express, in the only way possible to him, the nearness of Jehovah to man and His interest in human concerns. The difference in the conception of God and in the theological outlook of the first two chapters could not have come from one writer.

Thus, by two independent lines of proof, each of them sufficient by itself to suggest different writers, we draw the firm conclusion that in the first two chapters of Genesis there are two accounts of Creation. The writer of the first account with his precise, legalistic, stereotyped style, his attention to chronology and statistics, and his transcendental idea of God, belongs to the school called the Priestly School (P). The writer of the second account, with his fresh, vivid and dramatic style and anthropomorphic conception of Jehovah, belongs to the Jehovist

School (J). The childlike immature conception of God in J, contrasted with the very mature and deep conception of God in P, points to the former being hundreds of years earlier than the latter.

We may therefore expect to find that there are differences in FACTS in the Creation story. This result is inevitable and should not surprise us ; we expect differences and look for them. In the first account :

- (1) The primitive waters cover the whole chaotic earth (v. 2).
- (2) God creates in an orderly manner, creation culminating in that of male and female created *together*.
- (3) God rests on the seventh day.

In the second account :

- (1) When man was created, the earth was without plant or herb because there was no rain ; but a mist went up to prepare the earth for vegetation. Dust lay on the ground, and it was from the dust of the ground (Heb. *Adamah*) that man (Adam) was created.
- (2) There are no definite days of creation, man and woman are not created together ; the order of creation is meant to show the inferiority of woman, for after man (v. 7) come vegetation (vv. 8-17), then animals, (vv. 18-20), and lastly woman (vv. 21-25).
- (3) There is no hint or implication that Jehovah rested after His work of creation.

This examination of the duplicate story of Creation enables us to state a general proposition which applies to all historical narratives in the O.T., and which

solves every question involving contradictions, inconsistencies, and historical difficulties.

Differences of style, vocabulary, and theological standpoint are accompanied by differences of facts.

And conversely. Differences of facts are due to differences of sources to which the varying styles, vocabularies, and theological standpoints witness.

The Fall. Cain and Abel.

We have seen that when ancient books were written, a compiler dealt freely with existing books, taking from them what he thought necessary for his purpose and discarding the rest. The Creation story was thus compiled, and so was the story of Cain and Abel. The final editor of Genesis did not trouble himself with inconsistencies in his production; of them he was both unconscious and independent. His main purpose was to make the narrative serve as a vehicle of religious truth; and this was also the aim of the writer of a legend. Hence, if the questions are asked, "Who was Cain's wife?" "Who could possibly have slain him?" "For whom did Cain build a city?" the answer is threefold (1) the complete record of J is not given in Genesis; (2) these questions being questions about a legend do not affect the value of the O.T., (3) the O.T. legends, like N.T. parables, teach spiritual truth. The J narratives preserved in the O.T. are not by any means in their original fulness and are incomplete. That portions are missing in the early chapters is clear by the sudden beginning of the story of the Fall, in which we unexpectedly read, after the creation of Adam and Eve, "Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field,"

The Jehovist writer is also noticed to assume the existence of institutions such as agriculture and of acts of worship such as the custom of sacrifice. But we notice on the other hand, that he is interested in tracing the origins of customs and facts of life, *e.g.* the origins of sexes, of marriage, of the pain of childbirth, of wearing clothes, of polygamy (Lamech), of music (Jubal), metallurgy (Tubal Cain), of the worship of Jehovah in the time of Seth (4²⁶). He is neither historical nor scientific ; his aim is definitely religious.

The stories of the Fall and of Cain and Abel are clearly J ; the style, conception of God, the use of the name of Jehovah are unmistakable evidence.

The Flood.

In order that we may notice the variations of style, let us consider the verses which relate to the duration of the Flood, arranging them in two groups :

- I. 7⁶. And Noah was 600 years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.
- 7¹¹. In the 600th year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the 17th day of the month, on the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.
- 7¹⁸. And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth.
- 7¹⁹. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth.
- 7²⁴. And the waters prevailed upon the earth 150 days.

8^{3b}, 4, 5. And after the end of 150 days the waters decreased. And the ark rested in the 7th month, on the 17th day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat.

And the waters decreased continually until the 10th month: in the 10th month, on the 1st day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.

8^{13a}, 14. And it came to pass in the 601st year, in the 1st month, the 1st day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth. . . . And in the 2nd month, on the 27th day of the month, was the earth dry.

The style of these verses is distinct; it is formal, precise, chronological; the writer repeats phrases and dates the stages of the flood from Noah's age. These verses also state that the duration of the flood was one year and ten days, the waters prevailing for 150 days; further, that the catastrophe was produced by the fountains of the great deep and waters falling through the windows of heaven (7¹¹, 8^{2a}). We recognise the style of P.

II. There is a second group of verses, which cohere both in style and facts:

7¹². And the rain was upon the earth 40 days and 40 nights.

7¹⁶⁻¹⁷. And Jehovah shut him in. And the flood was 40 days upon the earth.

8⁶. And it came to pass at the end of 40 days that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made: and he sent forth a raven. . . .

8¹⁰. And he stayed yet other 7 days; and again he sent forth the dove.

8¹². And he stayed yet other 7 days; and sent forth the dove.

Here the style is anything but formal; the narrative is vivid and full of picturesque details of the raven and the dove; there are no references to Noah's age; there is an anthropomorphic touch in Jehovah shutting Noah in. We recognise the style of J, and note that the duration of the flood is 61 days and the catastrophe is produced by prolonged winter rains (7⁴, 12-8^{2b}).

Now consider whole passages such as these:

6¹⁻⁸. The marriages of the angels; the wickedness of man. Jehovah repents (vv. 6-7). Noah finds grace.

A vivid style of narrative with the deity spoken of as Jehovah frequently and represented as "repenting" and being "grieved at the heart"—which are anthropomorphisms. Clearly J.

6⁹⁻²². The generations of Noah. Noah walks with God. The earth is corrupt (thus vv. 9-12 repeat the ideas of 5-8 in different language and style, and the deity is Elohim, God). Full directions about the construction of the ark into which are to enter Noah and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives, also two of every kind of living thing "male and female." A formal style with statistical details and with peculiar words and phrases found in Gen. 1-2^{4a}, such as "after its kind" (6²⁰, cf. 7¹⁴), "male and female" (6¹⁹, 7¹⁶); there is a redundancy of style in v. 22.

"Thus did Noah; according to all that

God commanded him, so did he." Cf. Ex. 7⁶, 12^{28, 50}, 39^{32b}.

The style of P is undoubted. We notice that two of every living thing is to be taken into the ark.

7¹⁻⁵. Jehovah (not God) speaks to Noah and commands "him and all his house" (a simpler form than that of P in 6¹⁸) to enter the ark. Two unclean and seven clean animals to be taken in. Forty days rain after seven days. "And Noah did according to all that Jehovah commanded him." 7⁵ (but no redundancy as in 6²²). Style and theology of J.

8²⁰⁻²². Noah builds an altar unto Jehovah who "smells the sweet savour." Clearly J.

9¹⁻¹⁷. God blesses Noah and his sons, and twice says, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." (9¹⁻⁷, cf. 8¹⁷) a favourite combination of P. The deity is referred to as God; there is a reference to the covenant as in the P section 6⁹⁻²², and verses 8-17 consist of constant recurring formulae which become almost monotonous though they are emphatic. God is transcendent, nature and the rainbow obey him. Undoubtedly P.

The student will have no difficulty in tracing the story of the Flood to its two sources. It is evident that the compiler had before him two accounts of the Flood, given by P and J. In constructing his story, as we have it, he dovetailed passages from each of his sources in order to get a consecutive narrative. A later editor, aware of the variations

of the facts, made adaptations in 7⁷⁻⁹ to harmonise the narrative and make 6¹⁹ . . . and 7² . . . agree.

Thus the contradictions in the story of the Flood are easily explained and need not cause the student of the Bible any anxiety. Each of the writers P and J had his own account and the Biblical account is the amalgamation of two divergent accounts. These two original narratives may be reconstructed :

The Jehovist narrative. Owing to the wickedness of man, Jehovah purposes to destroy the earth and commands Noah and all his house to enter an ark, taking with them two of each kind of unclean animal and seven of each kind of clean animal. After seven days, rain falls on the earth for forty days and Jehovah shuts Noah in. At the end of forty days the floods begin to decrease, and Noah sends forth a raven, and a dove twice in succession at intervals of seven days. The raven does not return, but the dove on its second return brings an olive leaf. The dove is sent out a third time and does not return. Noah then comes out of the ark and builds an altar and sacrifices to Jehovah, who promises not to destroy the earth or cause the seasons to cease.

The Priestly narrative. The world is morally corrupt and only Noah is righteous. God purposes to destroy the world and commands Noah to build an ark of defined size and shape, to provision it, and to take into it his wife and his three sons and their wives, and two of each kind of living creature. The Flood begins, being caused by underground waters and waters from heaven, and prevails on the earth for 150 days. Then the Flood begins to abate, the ark rests on Mount Ararat, and after a year and

10 days, Noah leaves the ark. God blesses Noah and his sons and allows them to use animals for food, but without the blood. God then makes a covenant with Noah and gives the rainbow as a pledge.

This latter narrative gives us a characteristic of the Priestly School. By them it was seriously believed that ritual worship, sacrifice and the priesthood originated with Moses, and hence in the Flood narrative there is no mention of the altar or of sacrifice. Their interest as regards origins centres on those institutions which are specifically Jewish, and it is in the P source in Genesis that we find the institutions of the Sabbath and of circumcision definitely attributed to a Divine ordinance.

J = 6¹⁻⁸, 7^{1-5, 10, 12, 16b, 17b, 22, 23}, 8^{2b, 3a, 6-12, 13b, 20-22}, 9¹⁸⁻²⁷.

P = 6⁹⁻²², 7^{6, 11, 13-16a, 18-21, 24}, 8^{1, 2a, 3b-5, 13a, 14-19}, 9^{1-17, 28, 29}.

Editor's Notes = 7^{7, 9, 17a}.

The Elohist school.

Two sources, P and J, have been traced in the first nine chapters of Genesis, and with the exception of chapter 14 (the source of which is unknown), and certain verses in c. 15, these two are the only sources as far as c. 19. The presence of a third source, the Elohist school, may be discerned in the story of Abraham in cc. 20-22. One of the most graphic narratives of J is to be found in Gen. 18 and 19, which describes the visit of the three angels to Abraham, followed by the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Except in 19²⁹ (P), the characteristics of J are conspicuous—vividness, anthropomorphisms,

picturesqueness of detail, the use of Jehovah, the origin of the pillar of salt. Now there is a narrative almost as vivid and dramatic in c. 20 which recounts Abraham and Sarah's experiences at the court of Abimelech, King of Gerar. The writer uses "God" without exception, as P does until Ex. 6³, but the other characteristics of P are absolutely lacking; he therefore cannot belong to the Priestly school. He differs from J in preferring Elohim (God) to Jehovah, and further differs in his conceptions of God, for whilst J uses anthropomorphisms, he speaks of God as revealing His will in dreams and visions and by prophetic agency. Thus to him God is not the transcendent God of P nor the anthropomorphic God of J. He therefore belongs to a third literary school, known as the Elohist school (E). He is a moralist and a preacher rather than an antiquarian.

The compiler of Genesis combines J and E with great skill and it is often impossible to separate them, (=JE), and to draw exact lines of demarcation. As an instance where though J and E are combined they can be separated, we may take the following incident:

Jacob's vision (Gen. 28¹⁰⁻²²).

vv. 10, 13-16, 19. J narrative. Jehovah (not God) stands beside Jacob, who, when he awakes, says, "Surely Jehovah is in this place." Jehovah's promise in these verses is similar in form to that made to Abraham (12^{3,7} J, 13¹⁴⁻¹⁶ J).

vv. 11, 12, 17, 18, 20-22. Elohim is used frequently. Jacob in his dream sees a ladder reaching to

heaven and angels, and on awakening says, "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

Though Elohim is used, there is none of P's outlook or style. God speaks in dreams; vv. 11, 12, 17, 18 are also connected together by the reference to the stone. Jacob's vow is E's conclusion corresponding to Jehovah's promise of the J narrative.

The Biblical narrative is well harmonised.

Two other illustrations connected with Jacob will shew us how difficulties associated with duplicate accounts of the same event may be solved. How did Bethel get its name? In 28¹⁹ we are told that Jacob called Luz by a new name, Bethel, on his flight to Haran, whereas in 35^{9-13, 15} he names the place Bethel after his long sojourn with Laban. There is a distinct contradiction here, the explanation of which is that the first comes from the source J, whilst the second (35^{9-13, 15}) is in the style of P, as we see from the use of God Almighty (cf. Ex. 6^{2, 3}) and the words, "be fruitful and multiply," etc. A third explanation by E is given in 35⁶⁻⁷.

Jacob's new name.

Here too there are contradictory accounts, which are explained by the existence of different sources.

32²²⁻³². Jacob wrestles with an angel at the brook Jabbok. "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast prevailed." The vivid style and anthropomorphism are evidences of J.

35¹⁰. Jacob's name is changed at Bethel (P).

There are many of these duplicate narratives in the Pentateuch, all explicable in the one manner already stated—Differences of facts are due to different sources, which are to be recognised by style and religious outlook, either separately or conjointly. Thus E states in Gen. 21³¹ that Abraham called a certain place Beersheba, whilst J in 26³³ assigns the naming of the place to Isaac. Both J and E were familiar with the designating but assigned it to different patriarchs. The best and most interesting example of their familiarity with a common incident of nomadic life and their attributing the incident to different patriarchs is that of the visit said to have been paid both by Abraham and Isaac to Abimelech of Gerar. The similarities are too striking to be accidental; each of the patriarchs makes a covenant with the king; each king has the same name; both dwell at Gerar; each has a captain with a peculiar name Phicol; each takes the wife to be a sister; Beersheba twice receives its name. In the chapters recording these visits (20¹⁻¹⁷, 21²²⁻³⁴, 26¹⁻³³), there are two versions by J and E of a common incident of tribes leading a wandering life.

The story of Joseph.

This is one of the most attractive stories in the O.T. and is exquisitely harmonised, but it provides one instance by which we may see how differences in the representation of facts bear witness to different sources. The editor has left traces of his attempts to make his two stories fit together; in c. 39 Joseph is in prison, whilst in c. 40 he is in the house of "the

captain of the guard," a rendering which can possibly be "lord high cook," which is more suitable. The "captain of the guard" is not the keeper of the prison, cf. 40³ with 40⁷, 41¹²; in order to make c. 40 follow naturally on c. 39, the editor in 40³, after the words "in the house of the captain of the guard," put the words "into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound." The following are the chief contradictions in the story :

In 37²⁸ "And there passed by Midianites" is a statement implying that Midianite merchantmen appear for the first time; now they are not to be identified with the Ishmaelites, and therefore the statement cannot be the real sequel of vv. 25-27, where the travelling company of Ishmaelites are on their way to Egypt. The true sequel in v. 28 would have been some words like "And the Ishmaelites drew near." We are in fact twice told that Joseph was brought into Egypt and sold there, once by the Midianites, who sold him to Potiphar (37³⁶), and once by the Ishmaelites, who sold him to a nameless Egyptian (39^{1a, 2, 3, 7}).

In 37²⁸ the Midianites draw Joseph out of the pit without the brothers' knowledge, since in 40¹⁵ Joseph says, "I was *stolen away* out of the land of the Hebrews."

Again, in 42²⁷, 43²¹, the money is found in the lodging house, whilst in 42³⁵ it is found in Jacob's house.

Also in 42^{7-13, 30-32}, the brothers are charged as spies, and volunteer the information that they had a younger brother, whilst in 43^{6, 7} they are not charged as spies, and Joseph asks them whether they had another brother (cf. 44¹⁹).

The story is in fact a combination of two narratives given by J and E. The work of E may be seen in the incidents of the dreams ; it is one of E's distinguishing characteristics. In E we come across Joseph's answer, " It is not in me : God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace " ; it is E who exalts the part played by Reuben because, as is probable, the Elohist source was written in the northern kingdom of Ephraim. J on the other hand, since he was a southerner from Judah, exalts the actions of Judah. The following gives a summary of the narratives from which the Biblical story has been formed :

Jehovist narrative. Joseph angers his brothers by his tale-bearing ; they wish to kill him, but on the advice of Judah they sell him to a caravan of Ishmaelites, who in turn sell him to an unknown Egyptian for 20 pieces of silver, who makes the slave his chief servant. The master's wife tempts Joseph, who is imprisoned on a false charge ; he is released, made ruler, and provides corn for a famine. Joseph's brethren come to buy corn, and on their return find money at the lodging house. Judah prevails upon his father to let Benjamin go ; Joseph gives the eleven brothers a feast. The cup is hidden in Benjamin's sack, and the lad is charged with theft. Judah intercedes for him. Joseph makes himself known and sends for his father, who goes down to Egypt and settles in Goshen.

Elohist narrative. The brothers, offended at Joseph's dreams, put him in a pit at the request of Reuben, who thereby saves him from being slain. Midianites pass by and kidnap him and take him to Egypt, where they sell him to Potiphar, in whose

charge are the chief baker and the chief butler. These latter dream dreams which Joseph interprets aright; the Pharaoh also has dreams which Joseph interprets, and for which he is appointed to make provision against a famine. The brothers come to buy corn and are treated as spies. Joseph discovers they have a younger brother, and, keeping Simeon as a pledge, commands that Benjamin be fetched. Money put into the sack (a different word is used in J) is found at home. Jacob is prevailed upon to send Benjamin, and the brothers visit Egypt a second time. Joseph makes himself known to them and sends for his father.

J = 37^{2b-4, 12-18, 21, 25-27, 28b, 31-35}, 39; 42^{5, 6a, 27, 28, 38}, 43^{1-13, 15-34}, 44, 45^{10a}, 46²⁸⁻³⁴.

E = 37^{5-11, 19, 20, 22-24, 28a, 29-30, 36}, 40, 41, 42^{1-4, 6b-26, 29-37}, 43¹⁴, 45-46⁵.

P = 37^{1, 2a}, 46⁶⁻²⁷.

Editor's insertions in

39¹ from "Potiphar . . . guard."

39²⁰ from "the place . . . bound."

40⁵ from "the butler . . . prison."

40¹⁵ from "and here . . . dungeon."

41¹⁴ from "and they . . . dungeon."

43²³ from "and he . . . them."

45⁴ from "whom ye . . . Egypt."

45⁵ from "that ye . . . hither."

We have thus far considered narratives in *Genesis*, and sufficient evidence has been adduced from the book itself to show us the existence of three sources, and the value of these sources in clearing up the many difficulties and problems of the book. Other historical

examples will now be taken before we examine the codes of laws by which we shall be enabled to fix the approximate dates when the various schools were engaged in their literary work. The guide afforded us by the use of Jehovah and Elohim fails us after Exodus 6³, except when they are used consistently in a section, but the evidences of style, vocabulary, outlook, and conception of deity are available and form excellent criteria for the investigation.

The plagues of Egypt.

It is no difficult task to find incongruous and inconsistent statements in the early narratives of Exodus. For example, if all the water in Egypt was turned into blood (7^{17, 19, 21}), where did the magicians get water from to perform their miracle (7²²)? And how is it that the Egyptians dig round about the river for water (7²⁴)? In the plague of lice, if all the dust was turned into lice where did the magicians get dust from (8^{17, 18})? Again, according to 9⁶, all the cattle die, but in 9^{9, 19, 11⁵} some are still alive. Also, in the account of the last plague, the people are warned to be ready for their departure (12¹⁻²⁰), but in 12³⁴ they are caught unprepared. In 2^{1, 2}, it is implied that Moses is the first-born son, but in 6^{20, 26, 7⁷} Aaron is four years his senior. In 1^{7, 9, 12³⁷} the Israelites are a mighty force to be reckoned in millions, the men alone numbering 600,000; but in 1^{15, 16} two midwives are sufficient to attend the women in childbirth. In 2¹⁻¹⁰ and during two plagues the Israelites are not in Goshen, but live among the Egyptians, whilst during the plagues of flies and hail the Israelites are in Goshen and are therefore not affected (8^{22, 9²⁶}).

The explanation lies in different versions from which the narrative in Exodus has been compiled. Let us take the first plague, c. 7, and notice the style and outlook of the three sources.

E. v. 17b. Behold, I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood.
v. 20b. And he lifted up the rod, and smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants ; and all the waters that were in the river were turned to blood.

J. v. 18. And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall stink ; and the Egyptians shall loathe to drink water from the river ;

v. 21a. And the fish that was in the river died ; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river ;

v. 24. And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink ; for they could not drink of the water of the river.

P. v. 19. And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their streams, and over their pools, and over all their ponds of water, that they may become blood ; and there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone.

vv. 21b, 22a. And the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt. And the magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their enchantments :

The difficulties are thus overcome. Each of the three schools had an account of this plague with details that varied; the language and outlook of each school is distinct as the verses quoted shew. In the first set of verses (E) Moses smites the Nile with his own rod, and the waters of the Nile are turned to blood; in the second set of verses (J) Jehovah smites the river, and the fish die, and the Egyptians are unable to drink water from the river; in the third set of verses (P) Aaron takes *his* rod and stretches out his hand not only over the Nile but over the rivers, streams, pools and ponds, which all become blood.

A few points of interest may be noticed. There are three rods mentioned in connection with the stories: the rod of Moses, which is his shepherd's staff, and is changed into a serpent before the children of Israel (4²⁻⁴ J), a magic rod in the hand of Moses (4^{17, 20, 17⁹}), by which signs are performed (E), and a magic rod in the hand of Aaron by which he performs wonders (7^{9, 10, 8^{16, 17}}, etc. P). The Priestly writer consistently exalts Aaron, the first high priest according to the view of his school.

The main differences in the narratives of the plagues in respect of their sources are these:

P. i. Aaron is one of the chief actors, and the command is, "Say unto Aaron." Aaron stretches his rod.

ii. There is no interview with the Pharaoh and no request is made from him; the plagues are not intended to be a means of securing the departure of the Hebrews but are only signs of power.

- iii. Egyptian magicians are mentioned by P alone ; they are finally defeated.
- iv. The hardening (making strong) of the Pharaoh's heart is mentioned, in some instances it is attributed to Jehovah, and the statement is followed by the words "he hearkened not unto them, as the LORD had spoken."
- J. i. Moses is the chief actor and Aaron is in the background ; Moses addresses the Pharaoh.
- ii. A demand is made "Let my people go that they may serve me." The three days' journey into the wilderness is the excuse to leave Egypt.
- iii. A plague is announced, is caused directly by God, and takes place without human intervention. Moses announces the plague.
- iv. The Pharaoh's heart is hardened in the sense that it is made heavy.
- v. Israelites are in the land of Goshen.

Most of the narrative is from J, especially the vivid portions of it, and the dialogue. Thus, in 7¹⁴-11¹⁰ the verses assigned to P are 7^{19-20a}, 21^{b-22}, 8⁵⁻⁷, 15^{b-19}, 9⁸⁻¹², 11⁹⁻¹⁰, the rest is JE. It is to E, that those parts of the narrative that describe the plagues as occurring after Moses lifts up his magic rod are due, 7²⁰, 9²², 10^{12, 13a}. E like Deut. uses Horeb for the mount of God, J and P use Sinai. E says Israel is a small tribe among Egyptians, J that Israel is numerous and live in Goshen, Ex. 8²², 9²⁶, Gen. 45¹⁰, 46^{28, 29}.

When the plagues are analysed, they are assigned as follows :

J	E	P
River polluted and fish die.	River turned to blood.	All water turned to blood.
Frogs.	—	Frogs.
—	—	Lice.
Flies.	—	—
Murrain.	—	—
—	—	Boils.
Hail.	Hail.	—
Locusts.	Locusts.	—
—	Darkness.	—
Firstborn.	Firstborn.	Firstborn.
(death announced)		

In J the plagues are chiefly caused by natural means, namely the pollution of the Nile, the frogs and flies which come and go, murrain, hail, locusts, and death of the firstborn. These seven plagues of J are those mentioned in Psalm 78⁴⁴⁻⁵¹.

On the call and commission of Moses, the Passover and other points see Ques. pp. 76, 217, 218.

The Tent of Meeting.

In Exodus 25-31, which contains details such as P loves, God gives directions to Moses concerning the building of the Tabernacle, its appointments and furniture, the Ark, the ritual and the Priesthood. The carrying out of these directions, including the building of the Tabernacle, is described in almost identical words in cc. 35-40. But in the intervening chapters (32-34) we come across a narrative in vivid language which describes the story of the Golden Calf, the instructions for the march into Canaan,

and the giving of the second tables of the Commandments. The difference of style points to two sources P and J, and this fact accounts for what would otherwise be an insuperable difficulty, for in J's narrative (cc. 32-34), there is an account of a tent which Moses used to pitch "without the camp, afar off from the camp" called the tent of meeting which Moses frequently visits and of which Joshua is the servant; now Joshua was an Ephraimite who according to P, since he was not a Levite, had no right to minister at the sanctuary. It was to this tent that the seventy elders went (Num. 11^{16-17, 23-30}), and it was there that Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses (Num. 12) and Moses with Joshua appeared before God that Joshua might receive a charge before the death of Moses (Deut. 31^{14, 15}). If then the narrative of Exodus is read consecutively and held to be in historical sequence there is a tent actually in use (33⁷) before it is made (35-40). It might be said that the tent pitched without the camp was temporary and was replaced by the magnificent Tabernacle set up later, but the incidents above quoted from Numb. and Deut. state otherwise, for they refer to events which belong to the closing years of the journeys through the wilderness and occurred after the elaborate tent is said to have been made.

The Ark.

In the preceding study, attention was called to the different styles between Ex. 32-34 (J), and Ex. 25-31, 35-40 (P). In these sources and in Deut. there are references to the Ark, and in them we find contradictions in regard to the Ark, when it was made and

by whom it was made. The references to the Ark are as follows :

J. Ex. 34^{1-4, 28}.

P. Ex. 25¹⁰, 37¹⁻⁹, 40. Deut. 10¹⁻⁵.

When was the command to make the Ark given ?

In the P narrative, the command was given *during* the first stay in the mount (Ex. 25^{10, 22}), whilst in Deut. 10³ the command to make the Ark and two tables of stone like the first was given *after* the first stay and before Moses went up again.

When were instructions given for its construction ?

In P Moses gives instructions *after* his second stay on the mount (Ex. 35-37) whilst in Deut. the Ark was made *before* the second stay.

Who made it ? In P Bezaleel (Ex. 37¹) and in Deut. Moses, a strange inaccuracy if Moses wrote the Pentateuch.

In the J section (34^{1-4, 28}) there is no reference to the construction of the Ark but only to the two tables of stone. Thus, Ex. 34 (J) and Deut. 10 are not by the same writer and neither agrees with or belongs to P.

Deuteronomy.

We have already called attention to the Deuteronomic school of literary writers (pp. 7, 13) ; it is to this school that we owe the book that bears their name. In *STYLE* it is quite distinctive ; it is sermon-like, passionate, enthusiastic and hortatory ; it flows on like a majestic stream, carrying the reader with it, witnessing to the holiness of Jehovah. There is a fondness and partiality for certain words and phrases, which give to Deut. a peculiarity and individuality ; examples of these are " house of bondage," " in thy

gates," "a holy people," "a mighty hand and stretched out arm," "the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow," "the good land," "the priests the Levites," "to make His name dwell there," "to observe to do," "the land whither ye are going over to possess it," "that it may be well with thee." D always speaks of Horeb, whilst P speaks of Sinai, as the mount of God.

D's conception of God is grander and finer than that of J and E. God is a God of love, and mercy, and justice; He is the one God and He alone; the duty of man is to shew his personal devotion to God; as God is holy, the nation ought to be holy. D enforces the honour and moral claims of God with the enthusiasm of an inspired and inspiring preacher; he lives for God and urges man to live for God, to bring his motives to the test and thereby render Him a worthy devotion and worship.

The influence of the Deuteronomic school may be seen chiefly in the books of Joshua, Samuel, and Kings; in them D interprets history by inculcating the religious lessons which history teaches; the kings are judged by their compliance or non-compliance with the Deuteronomic law, though many kings preceded the promulgation of the law and the production of Deut. The Priestly school in the same way produced Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

The Deuteronomic school interpreted history from their standpoint, and, as we shall see presently, composed the addresses of Deut. and put them into the mouth of Moses, convinced that had he been alive he would have spoken thus; they wrote in the spirit of Moses; they interpreted Moses.

The mission of the spies.

This is described in Num. 13 and 14, and in Deut. 1¹⁹⁻⁴⁴. One source, P, may be discerned in Num. by the list of heads of father's houses and by peculiar words such as "congregation" (ten times) with its ecclesiastical associations, and "spy out"; sources J and E are seen in the vivid parts of the narrative such as Num. 13^{18-20, 27-31}, 14¹¹⁻²⁵.

The divergences in the representation of facts are thereby accounted for, and the most striking are these. In P, the spies explore the whole country of Canaan to Rehob in the North (13²¹, 14⁷), and report that the land is impoverished and not worth conquering (13³²); when the people murmur Joshua and Caleb together pacify them and are allowed to enter Canaan. In the JE sources the spies only go as far as Hebron (13^{22, 24}) and report that the land is fertile but could not be conquered (13²⁷⁻³¹), and when the people murmur Caleb alone pacifies them and is rewarded by being brought into Canaan (13³⁰, 14²⁴). The account in D says that the spies go only as far as Eschol and that Caleb alone pacifies the people.

D therefore in the main agrees with JE, and uses JE as his source.

In 1 Maccabees 2⁵⁶, we read "Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation received the heritage of the land."

The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

Here (Num. 16-18) we encounter variations of style and phraseology, peculiar words and phrases

which are marks of P, *e.g.* "an everlasting covenant," "father's houses," "congregation," "ruler," or "prince." We have an example of his redundancy of style in 17¹¹. "Thus did Moses: as the LORD commanded him, so did he." The vivid style of J and E is also evident.

The combination of sources by the final compiler has not been happy, for he has confounded two distinct revolts and added his own version and thus made his narrative more complex. The result is ludicrous in one point for in 16³², the 250 princes are at first buried alive by the earthquake and then devoured by fire at the tent of meeting (16³⁵). Had Moses written the Book of Numbers, we should have doubted his credibility as an eye-witness.

The narrative, as stated above, is a compound of three descriptions of events:

- i. Korah with 250 princes, who are laymen, questions the priestly claims of the tribe of Levi whose representatives are Moses and Aaron, on the ground that each Israelite is "holy." They are punished by fire at the Tent of Meeting.

P. 16^{1a, 2b-7, 18-24, 27a, 35, 41-50}, 17, 18.

- ii. Dathan and Abiram revolt against the authority of Moses; they and their families are swallowed up by an earthquake.

JE. 16^{16, 2a, 12-15, 25, 26, 27b-32a, 33, 34}, cf. D. 11⁶.

Another scribe of the Priestly school edited the original narrative which was compiled by a combination of P and JE as above, and desired to shew that Aaron played a more important part in the story:

- iii. Korah with other mutineers who are now called "the sons of Levi" rebel against the exclusive claims of Aaron (not Moses and Aaron as in P above) which Korah claimed Aaron had usurped.

P². 16^{1a}, 8-11, 16, 17, 36, 40.

Thus the two versions in which Korah figures are both from the Priestly school and this study shews us that more than one Priestly writer was engaged in compiling the Pentateuch. It is for this reason that we have spoken of schools of writers. We often come across contradictions and inaccuracies in the writings of one school and not only in the records of one school as against another. But our proposition (p. 18) still holds good, "Differences of style, vocabulary, and theological standpoint are accompanied by differences of facts" and conversely "differences of facts are due to differences of sources."

The story of Balaam (Num. 22-24).

It is a common sneer that God is here represented as a capricious God in that, if we read the narrative consecutively, He tells Balaam to go to Balak and then blames him for doing so. But there is no need for such ribaldry, for the narrative is a combination of three different narratives. For example, in cc. 22²⁻²¹ 35b-41, God (not Jehovah) is almost uniformly used; and 22^{9a, 20} are very like passages in Genesis 20³, 31²⁴ which are both from the E source.

The narrative in c. 22 has been combined from the two accounts of J and E. To E belongs 22^{2-21, 35b-41}, and in it Balaam goes with "the princes of Moab"

and is given permission to go. To J belongs the incident of the ass speaking ; it is to him we owe anthropomorphisms and in his source 22^{22-35a} Balaam has not received permission to go and is taught what he should speak by the angel on the way, whilst in E God says he is to speak what God puts into his mouth. The deity is in J referred to as Jehovah.

In cc. 23, 24 J and E are so well harmonised that we cannot separate the sources.

A third strand was contributed by P. Balaam is in league with the Midianites, not the Moabites, and counsels immorality to seduce the Israelites, who are punished by a plague. Phinehas kills one of the chief offenders and is given the priesthood for ever. As a sequel, there is open war with the Midianites (Num. 31) who are exterminated ; their five kings and Balaam are slain. P=22¹, 25⁶, 31⁸⁻²⁴.

JE has an account of whoredom committed by Israel, but it is with the daughters of Moab and the people are punished not by a plague but by human agents 25¹⁻⁵.

CODES OF LAWS

We proceed now to date, as nearly as we can, the periods during which the various schools of writers flourished. This may be done by a study of the three codes of laws found in the Pentateuch, and we shall conclude that these schools wrote in the following order of time, JE (*circ.* 800 B.C.), D (*circ.* 650 B.C.), P (*circ.* 500 B.C.) as against the order stated in the

Pentateuch JE, P, D, the two former dating from Sinai, the third from the close of the life of Moses.

These three main codes of laws in the Pentateuch correspond in style, vocabulary, and outlook with the schools to which we have traced the narrative portions of the said five books.

JE. Exodus 20-23, called the "Book of the Covenant" from 24⁷. Moses is said to have written it.

D. Deut. 12-26.

P. Exodus 12, 25-31, 35-40.

Leviticus.

Numbers 1-10, 15, 18, 19, 27-36.

(This is known as the Priestly Code and is said to have been given at various times, at Sinai, during the journeys to Moab, and in the plains of Moab.)

According to the chronology of the Pentateuch, the laws in Exodus and Leviticus, JE and P, were given at Sinai, and Deuteronomy promulgated nearly forty years afterwards in Moab.

Some preliminary remarks must be made on the Book of the Covenant. It is evidently meant for an agricultural class of people, and is more suitable for a settled community such as Israel was after the Monarchy was established, about 1030 B.C. or 200 years after Moses. It undoubtedly contains laws of great antiquity as all codes of laws, even our English codes, do; there are barbaric traces in it, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." It is interesting to note that many of its laws, even to their wording, are in close agreement with the Code of Hammurabi,

the Amraphel of Gen. 14¹, the founder of the Babylonian Empire ; this agreement may be due to the two codes being based on customary law which was common to all Eastern nations.

A study of the laws of worship is not as entrancing as the study of narratives, but it is crucial, as on it depends the valuation of Jewish History and in particular of the historical books of the O.T. We have already dealt with the Tent of Meeting and the Ark, and attention has been called to the contradictions in important details ; we have inferred that Ex., Lev., Deut. and Numb. could not have been written by one man.

If the right order in which the codes were given is JE, P, D, we ought to expect some coherence in them, no contradictions of any moment and only in matters of minor details, a steady progress in thought—D shewing an advance on P and JE, which were promulgated almost simultaneously—and lastly we must certainly find that men like Moses, Samuel, Eli, Isaiah, etc., would carry out the full and explicit directions of the Priestly Code.

The Covenant at Mount Sinai.

According to Ex. 24³⁻⁸, the basis of God's covenant with Israel is the words which Moses read to the people, namely, Ex. 20-23, that is, the Book of the Covenant. Thus,

- i. According to JE, the covenant is based on the Book of the Covenant, not on the Ten Commandments alone.
- ii. According to D, there were two covenants, one made in Horeb 4^{13, 23}, 5^{2, 3, 22}, the other made in

the land of Moab 29^{1, 9, 12, 21}. The first of these covenants is thus described in 5²². "These words the LORD spake unto all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice : and he added no more."

God therefore, because of the people's fear, only declared the ten commandments and based the covenant on them for "He added no more."

There is a contradiction between JE and D, for in Exodus the covenant at Horeb is based on the Book of the Covenant, and in Deut. on the Decalogue.

- iii. According to P, the Priestly Code, God gave instructions at Sinai for making the tabernacle, ark, priestly garments, etc. and (2) these instructions were supplemented during the journeys ; whole chapters in Exodus are devoted by P to these important subjects and to the means of worship ; minute descriptions are given of their construction and of the people's free-will offerings. But when Moses speaks to the people before his death and reviews the laws given at Sinai he does not mention these details of P. Whilst as regards (2) we cannot find room for them in Deut. for there is no intimation in it of commands given during the journeys.

Thus it is unlikely that P preceded D in point of time. If the Priestly Code was later than the Deuteronomic Code, the omissions in the latter would be natural. The order suggested is JE, D, P.

Slavery.

This is dealt with in the three codes and will repay study. Ex. 21²⁻¹¹ (JE), Deut. 15¹²⁻¹⁸ (D), Lev. 25³⁹⁻⁵⁵ (P). The position of slaves as stated in them is shortly thus :

JE. Slavery is approved and Hebrews may be owned as slaves. If any slave is set free, his wife and children must remain with his master in bondage for they are the master's chattels. If the slave prefers to remain in perpetual servitude, he has to submit to a ceremony performed before God.

D. As in JE slavery, even of Hebrews, is approved. If a slave father is freed, the mother and children are also freed, for the code does not say that they are to remain with their master. Perpetual slavery is to be marked by a private, not a public, ceremony.

P. Slaves are not a class and only foreigners may be slaves, for Hebrews, as bondmen of Jehovah, may not be slaves.

If JE, D, P are the successive stages of growth, the progress of humanitarian principles is evident. But if JE and P are to be dated the same year, and D forty years later, the confusion is great ; Moses in this case acts inconsistently and takes a retrograde step, for according to JE Hebrew slaves are first allowed and in a few months, when P is promulgated, he cancels the law of JE and forbids Hebrew slaves, and finally forty years later the law of JE is re-enacted in D, and that which is forbidden in P is permitted.

The order suggested is therefore JE, D, P.

Sacrifice.

JE. All males are to make three pilgrimages in one year; the sacrifices to be made are not specified by name nor is the material of the sacrifice stated. (Ex. 23¹⁴⁻¹⁸, 34^{18, 22, 23}.) The Passover is mentioned but the details are meagre.

D. The three pilgrimages are more fully described, as well as the offerings to be presented and the material of the Passover (D 12, 16).

P. Seven feasts are ordered and described in elaborate detail along with the sacrifices and ritual and material for each occasion. The times are fixed by month and day. Sin offerings and guilt offerings are introduced for the first time and the observances on the great day of Atonement are rigorously prescribed.

The fulness of detail of P, suggests that the order of the codes is JE, D, P. We may well ask why, if D is a recapitulation of laws given at Sinai as in the Priestly Code, the three feasts only of JE are mentioned in the review of Deut.; and again why is the Day of Atonement omitted altogether in D when its wrongful observance meant death to priests and people and the Day is the culmination of the whole sacrificial system of P?

History bears out the conclusion that P is later than D. The first mention of sin and guilt offerings outside the Priestly Code is in Ezekiel (40³⁹, 42¹³), who lived 600 years after Moses. Again P says that Moses used a sin offering at the inauguration of the

Tabernacle, and Aaron did likewise on entering on his holy office as high priest, yet, at the Dedication of the Temple (1 Kings 8) there is no sin offering and no high priest.

Another point is this; according to the Priestly Code, the great feast of Tabernacles is to be observed for seven days and followed by a holy convocation on the eighth day (Lev. 23³³⁻³⁶), but Solomon dismisses the people after seven days, which is the observance enjoined in D (16¹³). The conclusions suggested by this last instance are that 1 Kings was influenced by D, and by both instances, that the Priestly Code was subsequent in time to Solomon and was produced about the time of Ezekiel.

Place of worship.

JE. Altars may be erected at any place and should be made of earth or unhewn stone. Ex. 20²⁴⁻²⁶.

D. The place of worship is to be fixed at a future time, is to be at one spot only, and not at any place; it is to be limited "to the place which the LORD your God shall chose to cause his name to dwell there" (Deut. 12^{11, 17, 18}, 16). This future sanctuary is to be chosen when the Israelites dwell in safety; the worship at various local sanctuaries may continue till the time when this law of the one sanctuary can be enforced.

A reference in 1 Kings 3² bears on this law, for sacrifices are allowed at high places and local sanctuaries because there was no house built unto the name of the Lord—that is, the

one sanctuary was not established before the establishment of the kingdom.

P. The central sanctuary is in existence and is not something to be realised in the future (Ex. 25-31, 35-40).

JE, P, D is an impossible order, for according to the chronology of the Pentateuch P was given forty years before D, and if this is correct, there is an inexplicable contradiction, since in the earlier P the central sanctuary, which in D is to be realised in the future, already exists. The only possible order is JE, D (under the monarchy), P. If Moses wrote the Pentateuch, the contradiction cannot be explained. History bears out this conclusion, that D issued in the time of the monarchy and that P is later than D, that the centralisation of worship in P was not the normal condition before the Exile to Babylon early in the sixth century. To take a few instances, Joshua, the successor of Moses, sets up a stone at Shechem by the sanctuary of the Lord ; Gideon, a judge, offers sacrifice on bare rocks ; Manoah, the father of Samson, acts as Gideon did ; while the Ark was at Shiloh, the tribe of Dan sets up a sanctuary in its own territory (Judges 18^{30, 31}) ; Samuel a prophet and a priest builds an altar at Ramah, offers to sacrifice at Gilgal and offers sacrifices at Bethlehem ; David sacrifices in the open fields and at the threshing floor of Araunah ; Elijah repairs an altar at Carmel and complains to God not that the worship at local sanctuaries was wrong but that the altars have been thrown down by the people. The prophets too of the eighth century say that worship is carried on at Bethel, Gilgal, Beersheba (Amos 4⁴, 5⁵, Hosea 10).

This general practice is incomprehensible if Moses had ordered, at Divine command, that worship was to be at one spot (P). It was not till the time of Josiah (621 B.C.) that local sanctuaries were abolished (2 Kings 22³⁻²⁷); the reformation of Josiah is in this matter in line with the law of Deut.

Priesthood.

In JE, there are no regulations concerning priests, there are no professional priests and no tribe is specially set apart; the law about altars is addressed to the people generally. Ex. 20²⁴⁻²⁶.

In D, the whole tribe of Levites is set apart for service at one future sanctuary; all Levites are priests and all priests are Levites; they are spoken of as "The priests the Levites, *even* all the tribe of Levi" (18¹).

In P, only one family of the tribe of Levi are priests, namely, the family of Aaron. The rest of the tribe of Levi, called Levites, perform such functions as carrying the tabernacle, waiting on the congregation, ministering to the priests. In P there are three orders in gradation—High Priests, Aaronic Priests, and Levites who are not Priests.

If then the Book of the Covenant (JE), and the Priestly Code (P) were promulgated within a few months of each other, we notice an unexpected development in P, of priests who are Levites and Levites who are not priests. This distinction is not known or recognised in the D-ic¹ code; there is a strange inconsistency between the codes.

¹ Short for Deuteronomic.

There are two other considerations which help us to estimate the position. (1) The residence of the priests. In P, the tribe of Levi acquires the right to certain cities which are to be set apart for their exclusive use (Num. 35¹⁻⁸); but in the review of laws which Moses makes before his death (D) this right of the tribe of Levi is non-existent; all is changed; the Levites are not resident in cities possessed by right but are sojourners without a fixed abode and are supported by charity (D 12^{12, 18}, 14²⁷⁻²⁹). Why this contradiction? It might be said that the D-ic scheme was suitable for the Levites before they entered into Canaan and was not to apply after their settlement in that country, in other words D's regulation was provisional and P's permanent. But this is not the view of D, for we read that the D-ic code was to apply when the Israelites dwelt in the land which the Lord their God caused them to inherit and when He gave them rest from their enemies (D 12¹⁰⁻¹³).

(2) The question of revenue. The Priestly Code states that God had given *all* the tithe in Israel to the children of Levi (Num. 18²¹) and of this one-tenth was the right of the Aaronic priests. But in the D-ic code this is changed; the Levites "within thy gates" are to be the invited guests of a household and are to share in the tithe and offerings with the offerer and his household, and the Levites as guests, are to eat the tithe and firstlings of the flock before the LORD with their hosts.

The differences of the dwelling places and revenues imply a changed condition of social life. In the D-ic code the Levites, who are all priests, have no cities of their own and no definite means of support; in

the Priestly Code, the tribe of Levi has a right to certain cities and all the tithe belongs to them, a certain proportion being set apart for the priests who are exclusively of the family of Aaron. A sufficiently long interval of settled life, not nomadic as in the wilderness, must be allowed for these changed social conditions.

The most conclusive argument, however, is that drawn from history. Do we find only Aaronic priests offering sacrifice? Or do we find other priests of other tribes and laymen performing this act of worship? Read the story of Micah in Judg. 17, 18, and observe the peculiar facts in it; Micah himself though not a priest consecrates one of his own sons as priest (17⁶); he later on obtains a professional priest, a Levite (not of Aaron's family), to act as priest and this man Jonathan is said to be descended not from Aaron, but from Moses (18³⁰ R.V. and see p. 6), and he and his descendants were priests until the day of the captivity of the land. Or take the case of Eli at the chief sanctuary at Shiloh; the house of Eli was descended from a priest who lived in Egypt during the oppression and who was chosen out of all the tribes of Israel to be a priest, to go up unto the altar, to burn incense, and to wear the priestly ephod (1 Sam. 2^{27, 28})—a totally different representation to that of the Priestly Code in which Aaron and his sons were set apart for the priestly office at Sinai, and before whose time there were no priests (Lev. 8, 9); it was not till the time of Solomon that in Zadok, a successor was chosen in place of Eli (1 Sam. 2³⁰⁻³⁵, 1 Kings 2²⁷⁻³⁵). Even laymen do not scruple to offer sacrifice and are not rebuked for contravening the law which P claimed

was given at Sinai. Saul offers sacrifice and Samuel sees no wrong in his act ; Samuel, though an Ephraimite and not a Levite had himself worn a linen ephod, that is, had acted as a boy-priest ; Solomon at the great dedication of the Temple consecrates, sacrifices, prays and blesses, knowing nothing of or caring for the regulations of the D-ic or Priestly Codes ; David allows his own sons to be priests (2 Sam. 8¹⁸ R.V.) and himself offers sacrifice and gives the blessing as head of the Temple ; Ahaz also offers sacrifice (2 K. 16¹²⁻¹⁴).

We can now state a principle important in estimating O.T. history.

The four schools of writers wrote history from the standpoint of their own times.

The dates of the codes.

We have had occasion to state that the D-ic code was probably promulgated in the reign of Josiah and that the Priestly Code bears some affinity with Ezekiel. The former code, D, abolished local sanctuaries, ordered the Priests the Levites to serve at one central sanctuary and therefore provided for their support since they automatically became sojourners without a fixed dwelling place ; it is on the basis of the D-ic code that Josiah in the reformation inaugurated in his reign abolished local sanctuaries, and ordered the priests to carry on duties at the one sanctuary in Jerusalem ; he kept a passover feast which is the one feast enjoined in the D-ic code. Jealousy on the part of the Jerusalem Priests would not, however, allow the priests of the destroyed sanctuaries to serve at Jerusalem. The "book of

the law" discovered in the Temple in 621 B.C. in Josiah's reign is therefore to be identified in parts of Deuteronomy.

Now as regards the date of the Priestly Code, the prophets of the eighth century are unaware that the priesthood is confined to the family of Aaron. Amos does not condemn the priesthood because it is not confined to the Aaronic family or even to the tribe of Levi, but because, as a class, they are careless, indifferent, worldly. Haggai and Zechariah, nearly 200 years later, do not know the Priestly code, for Joshua the Chief Priest does not rule alone but is associated with Zerubbabel the civil head; Malachi speaks of the priesthood as consisting of Levites only. Ezekiel, a priest of the sixth century, suggests in a vision of the future a plan for reviving and protecting the national religion, but makes no appeal to the Priestly Code, which he, as a priest, ought to have known had it existed as a legal code. In this scheme Ezekiel proposes that those Levites, who were priests at the local sanctuaries, should be degraded in office and be allotted menial functions and that the priesthood should be confined to the Jerusalem priests who were of Zadok's house. It was the influence of Ezekiel that produced in Babylon during the exile the Priestly Code in which the Levites are given menial functions, and the priesthood is confined to the house of Aaron (in this respect it is wider than the prophet's plan); it is in this code that the Feast of Tabernacles is ordered to be kept for eight days (Lev. 23³⁹⁻⁴³). And when Ezra in 444 B.C. has read out of the "Book of the Law" the people observe the Feast of Tabernacles as enjoined in Leviticus, thereby

suggesting that this book is to be identified with the Priestly Code.

The literature of the period after Ezra proves finally that the Priestly Code was promulgated in the time of Ezra, for 1 and 2 Chronicles which was written in the third century before Christ is saturated with Priestly thought, exalts the ecclesiastical order, and reads into the past the ideas of the school. Hence, as we shall soon have to notice, the contradictions between Chronicles on the one hand, and Samuel and Kings on the other. The Priestly school aimed at a reformation and to effect it they re-wrote history to exalt Aaron, to glorify the Temple, and under the aegis of Moses to prove that the regulations of their code and history were of Sinaitic origin.

The codes in history.

The earliest collection of Laws was a simplified Decalogue, which was promulgated by Moses at Mount Sinai; of its original form we are uncertain, but tradition so persistently attributes it to Moses that it may be safely accepted. We also possess in Exodus (18^{13, 16}) a picture of Moses sitting in judgment to decide on cases as they daily arose; these statutes and judgments formed the basis of a second code of laws, "The Book of the Covenant," which is adapted to suit an agricultural people such as Israel became after their settlement in Canaan. By these two codes, the life and conduct and religion of Israel were guided for six centuries after Moses at Mount Sinai had formulated the Ten Commandments and the people had entered into a covenant relationship with Jehovah. Hence, till the time of Josiah, sacrifices were offered

on altars at local sanctuaries by professional priests, by Levites descended from Moses, by others than Levites, by laymen. There was an inherent danger in the multiplication of such local sanctuaries of a growing laxity in the observances of worship, and this danger was increased by Canaanitish practices resulting from the identification of Jehovah with Baal (see Chap. 2). To combat this downward tendency the D-ic school was founded and the D-ic code produced; by them the law of the one sanctuary was emphasised as a means of eradicating idolatry; the teaching of the Book of the Covenant and of other existing laws was not altogether discarded but it was modified and adapted to new conditions.

But the kings who succeeded Josiah were not all in favour of the movement and when Jerusalem was captured by the Chaldeans, and its people deported to Babylon (586 B.C.), hopes of religion and a religious revival depended on the exiles in Babylon. In Ezekiel a saviour was found; it was he who laid a foundation for a second reformation and thus the Priestly school came into being and produced their Code. They, like the D-ic school, adapted and amplified existing laws to new conditions to serve their high intention; but in revising these older codes, they purposely assumed that the existing regulations and the developed laws of their day and the institutions of their own times were of Mosaic origin; they saved Jewish religion, and produced Judaism, but in doing so they placed a stumbling block in the way of Christian religion.

In what sense then is the Pentateuch called "the law of Moses"? It is certainly not Mosaic if by this

we mean that he promulgated all the codes of laws ; it is not Mosaic if we mean by this that he *wrote* the codes of laws or the whole Pentateuch. It is Mosaic in that to him we owe the first step towards the codification of law ; it is Mosaic in that the law proclaimed the ethical character of God which Moses was the first to define ; it is Mosaic in that he was the first to assert that the justice of God is tempered with mercy and love ; it is Mosaic in that it breathes his wondrous spirit ; it is Mosaic in that jurisprudence is the outcome of the Decalogue which he was inspired to proclaim. In this last sense English law is Mosaic.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS. THE DIVINE PREPARATION IN LITERATURE

In the Jewish Bible, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings are placed among the " Prophets," whilst Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah are relegated to the third group, " The Writings." This division has more than a historical interest ; it shews that the four books first mentioned were valued for their message ; they are not mere history, but are an interpretation of history ; they are didactic rather than narrative histories ; they are writings meant to elucidate the hand of God in history.

The narratives therefore are of secondary interest and importance, and consequently the compilers

were not over-careful of the authenticity of their facts ; they admit that many of their records are drawn from existing collections such as the Acts of Solomon, the Chronicles of the Kings, and books of various prophets. But in these historical books, the compilers were editors in a fuller sense than in the Pentateuch ; they belonged to the Elohist, Deuteronomic and the Priestly schools and by the standpoint of their schools they judged history and interpreted history.

Composite authorship therefore meets us in the historical books, but the sources are not all the same as those of the Pentateuch though they are far more numerous. It is to the existence of different sources that we are indebted for the differences of facts. Thus may we explain many an inaccuracy, many a contradiction. The Book of *Joshua* represents the conquest of Canaan as complete and describes in glowing terms how Joshua advanced from victory to victory, whilst *Judges* represents the tribes as acting independently without a common leader, (Joshua being the leader of one tribe only) meeting with success at times and failure on most occasions, with victory on the hill country and defeat on the plains. The stratagem by which Ai is captured is much involved by impossible situations ; the expulsion of Gideon is attributed now to his family now to the elders, and there is and there is not an apostasy from Jehovah. The institution of the monarchy by Samuel is stated to be both according to Jehovah's will and treason to the sovereignty of Jehovah, whilst Samuel himself appears on the one hand as an unknown seer and on the other hand as a judge and the

all-powerful representative of Jehovah. David is twice introduced to Saul, and on each occasion is unknown to the king; first, he is the minstrel who calms the evil spirit of Saul, later he is the victor of Goliath. David though anointed by Samuel in the presence of his father and brother is accused by his elder brother of impudence and pride when he appears in the camp of Israel. David in his famous encounter slays Goliath, and the same Philistine champion is said to have been slain by another (2 Samuel 21¹⁹). Gehazi though stricken with Naaman's incurable leprosy is no leper in later years (2 Kings 8⁴⁻⁷). Jeroboam becomes king over ten tribes and leaves two tribes for Solomon's son who however is said to rule over one tribe. Solomon's reign in one statement is marked by perfect quiet, "he had peace on all sides round about him" (1 K. 4^{24, 25}), but elsewhere we are given the names of the adversaries against whom he waged war throughout his reign (1 K. 11). Elijah is to anoint Jehu king of Israel, but it is fourteen years later that Elisha anoints him. Jehovah speaks to Elijah and commissions him to anoint Jehu king of Israel and says, "him that escapeth from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay," but it is the sword of Hazael that follows the sword of Jehu. When Sennacherib's generals attack Jerusalem, Isaiah promises that the Assyrian king shall "hear a rumour" and return to his own land and fall by the sword, whereas the sequel assigns the king's flight to a plague. In 2 K. 20 it is the shadow which returns ten steps backward but in Isaiah 38⁸ it is the sun itself that returns.

The more striking contradictions however are those

which arise from a comparison of Chronicles with Samuel and Kings. They cannot be reconciled, but their existence can be explained; a few instances will shew that Chronicles is garbled history and that it was written of set purpose, namely, to exalt everything ecclesiastical, by the Priestly School.

A. 2 S. 8¹⁸. And David's sons were priests.

1 C. 18¹⁷. And the sons of David were chief about the king.

B. 2 S. 24¹. And again the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, saying, Go, number Israel and Judah.

1 C. 21¹. And Satan stood up against Israel, and moved David to number Israel.

C. 2 S. 24²⁴. So David bought the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver.

1 C. 21²⁵. So David gave to Ornan for the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight.

D. 1 K. 8^{65, 66}. So Solomon held the feast . . . On the eighth day he sent the people away.

2 C. 7^{8, 9}. So Solomon held the feast . . . And on the eighth day they held a solemn assembly.

E. 1 K. 15¹⁴. But the high places were not taken away: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect with the LORD all his days.

2 C. 14³. Asa took away . . . the high places.

2 C. 15¹⁷. But the high places were not taken away out of Israel: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect all his days.

F. 1 K. 22^{48, 49}. Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber. Then said Ahaziah the son of Ahab unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants go with thy servants in the ships. But Jehoshaphat would not.

2 C. 20³⁵⁻³⁷. And after this did Jehoshaphat king of Judah join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel; the same did very wickedly: and he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made the ships in Ezion-geber. Then Eliezer the son of Dodavahu of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying, Because thou has joined thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD hath destroyed thy works. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish.

(See questions p. 76).

The conspiracy against Athaliah.

2 K. 11⁴⁻⁹.

2 C. 23¹⁻¹¹.

- | | |
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| <p>4. And in the seventh year Jehoiada sent and fetched the captains over hundreds, of the Carites and of the guard, and brought them to him into the house of the</p> | <p>1. And in the seventh year Jehoiada strengthened himself, and took the captains of hundreds, Azariah, . . . and . . . into covenant with him.</p> <p>2. And they went about</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

LORD ; and he made a covenant with them, and took an oath of them in the house of the LORD, and shewed them the king's son.

5. And he commanded them, saying This is the thing that ye shall do : a third part of you, that come in on the sabbath, shall be keepers of the watch of the king's house ;

6. and a third part shall be at the gate Sur ; and a third part at the gate behind the guard : so shall ye keep the watch of the house, and be a barrier.

7. And the two companies of you, even all that go forth on the sabbath, shall keep the watch of the house of the LORD about the king.

in Judah, and gathered the Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the heads of fathers' *houses* of Israel, and they came to Jerusalem.

3. And he said unto them . . .

4. This is the thing that ye shall do : a third part of you, that come in on the sabbath, of the priests and of the Levites, shall be porters of the doors ; and a third part shall be at the king's house ; and a third part at the gate of the foundation : and all the people shall be in the courts of the house of

6. the LORD. But let none come into the house of the LORD, save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites ; they shall come in, for they are holy : but all the people shall keep the watch of the LORD.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8. And ye shall compass
the king round about
. . . . | 7. And the Levites shall
compass the king
round about. . . . |
| 9. And the captains over
hundreds did accord-
ing to all that Jehoi-
ada the priest com-
manded : | 8. So the Levites and
all Judah did accord-
ing to all that Je-
hoiada the priest com-
manded : |

In *Kings*, Jehoiada is helped by captains of hundreds *i.e.* laymen; to the chronicler, who clearly belonged to the Priestly School, the idea that these foreign mercenaries should have entered the Temple is abhorrent and he therefore replaces the foreign troops by Levites who organise the revolt, and so alters *Kings* that Priests and Levites only are given entry into the Temple.

These few illustrations shew how hopeless a task it is to reconcile the statements in *Samuel* and *Kings* with those in *Chronicles*. What is the explanation of this condition of affairs? The Chronicler who wrote between 300-200 B.C., was a member of the Priestly School and he set out to re-write the history of the kingdom of Judah from the standpoint and in the spirit of the Priestly Code of Laws. He desired to exalt the priesthood and the religious supremacy of the Temple, and to effect his object he re-edited his originals; that which he thought ought to be, he represented as having been; present conditions became past conditions, present ideas and institutions became past ideas and institutions. So great was his reverence for the Priestly Code that he deliberately ignored the history between Joshua and David when,

in his view, religion was sacrilege and profanity ; the northern kingdom is scarcely mentioned by him as he regarded it as outside the pale of true religion ; even Elijah and Elisha are passed over in silence. *Chronicles* is history obscured by a religious theory ; it is an anachronism.

These were not the only peculiarities, for the writer idealised the characters of the religious kings of Judah such as David and Solomon and Hezekiah. *Samuel* might represent the adherents of David in exile as desperate adventurers but *Chronicles* would represent them as mighty men of war ; *Samuel* might state that David took wives and concubines but *Chronicles* would not discredit David and so omitted "concubines" ; *Kings* might represent David's last days as pathetically feeble, the monarch in his senile decay giving ruthless orders against the partisans of those who opposed the succession of Solomon, but *Chronicles* would shew its readers how a glorious reign should end, and the king is a man of vigour to the last, summoning his princes and captains and rulers to receive his dying charge concerning the building of the Temple. Not only does the Chronicler alter and adapt ; he omits all the discreditable incidents of David's life in order that he may idealise the great king—there is no mention of David's adultery with Bathsheba, nor of Absalom's rebellion, nor of Adonijah's rebellion.

One point more might be noticed. The Chronicler is an exaggerator and many of his details are imaginative. Jehoshaphat has over one million men in his army and yet is a vassal of Judah (2 C. 17, 1 K. 22⁴) ; he is afraid of the Moabites but gains a

bloodless victory over them (2 C. 20); Abijah, in his victory over Jeroboam, slays half a million men! David pays 600 shekels of gold for the threshing floor of Ornan. The historicity of Abijah's victory (2 C. 13) for instance is doubtful, for the king is represented as a true servant of Jehovah which is contrary to 1 K. 15³, and if Bethel was captured by him as stated in *Chronicles*, it is strange that Ramah south of Bethel was shortly afterwards fortified by the king of Israel (1 K. 15¹⁷).

The Divine Preparation of literature.

The problems of the narrative sections of the Pentateuch are thus solved for us. The existence of different schools of writers with their own points of view is the explanation of all the contradictions, inconsistencies, divergences, and anachronisms which tend to imperil our faith and deaden our interest in the O.T.; the fact of composite authorship enables us to approach O.T. problems with a faith founded on the conviction that inspiration is spiritual, not verbal or mechanical.

We proceed now to sketch the growth of this literature which we have seen was a gradual process. When would a demand for literature begin? When the people are in settled conditions and have reached a certain height of national prosperity or when the nation is in an unformed, disunited condition? Clearly, no such demand is possible until a national sentiment is awakened or developed by prosperity; at such a time writers become inspired to place on record the glories of the nation for the benefit of those who come after. It was so with England under

Alfred the Great and with France under Charlemagne ; so it was with the Jews. The glorious reigns of Solomon and David gave the incentive and both in the north and in the south literary schools sprang up which aimed at presenting the history of the Chosen People of God—these were the Elohist School in Ephraim the north, and the Jehovist school in Judah. They were not without means for constructing their narratives ; histories they are not in the modern sense, but records of what the writers believed to be the ordered events of the Jewish race. The J and E narratives are collections of anecdotes giving different versions of the same events, written when the people worshipped at local sanctuaries and sacrificed at various altars, when the Aaronic priests were non-existent. They wrote in the spirit of their age and with the contemporary conception of Jehovah which the prophets were unfolding. They did not hold that Jehovah's interests were confined to Israel. Hence God manifests Himself to the Philistine Abimelech, and warns Laban the Syrian, whilst Joseph marries the daughter of an Egyptian priest and Melchizedek, the Pharaoh, and Joseph's steward all fear God. The unity of their narratives lies in the spirit and not in the letter ; they aim at making their anecdotes vehicles of religious and spiritual principles which are of value for all time. And for this unity the world owes the J and E Schools an incalculable debt ; and because of this unity these records are called " The Prophetic Narratives " and not because the prophets composed them or were concerned in their production ; because of this unity the writings of these two schools represent a religious movement which prepared the way for

the great prophets of the eighth century. They drew on existing traditions and records, retaining what was necessary, discarding what was unnecessary, and in course of time the J and E narratives in their turn were similarly treated.

What material had they available? For the early history of mankind there were the common beliefs of all Semitic races and in particular those which were popularised by Babylonian influence which is known to have been paramount in Canaan about 1500 B.C. For patriarchal times there were poems such as the Songs of Lamech (Gen. 4^{23, 24}), Noah (9²⁵⁻²⁷), Rebekah (25²³), and Isaac (27^{27-29, 39-40}) and the Blessing of Jacob (49²⁻²⁷), not necessarily dating from the periods of those to whom the lays were ascribed; there were traditions associated with the local sanctuaries; Egyptian sources might have supplied the Egyptian touches in the story of Joseph; inscriptions might have served them as for Gen. 14. For the times of Moses and Joshua and the Judges, they had records written by Moses (Ex. 17¹⁴, 24^{4, 7}, Num. 33², Deut. 31^{9, 24}), the oral judgments delivered by him, incidents described in songs such as that of Miriam at the passage of the Red Sea and of Deborah, which were probably contemporary with the events described; the Song and Blessing of Moses which were of later date than Moses (see p. 75); books of songs and lyrics like the Book of the Wars of the LORD (Num. 21¹⁴) and the Book of Jashar (Josh. 10¹³, 2 Sam. 1¹⁸).

Thus were produced the J and E narratives which included the Book of the Covenant. But with the rise of the prophets of the eighth century, and

particularly of Isaiah, and their grasp of the holiness and righteousness of Jehovah, a movement was set on foot for a reformation in religion and a factor which helped it was the amalgamation of J and E into a single book JE, the narratives being reset in the light of the age but their respective characteristics being preserved; selections were made from each to form a continuous narrative even if conflicting statements were thereby retained. The reformation was attempted in the reign of Hezekiah in Isaiah's lifetime but was abortive; the dark days, lasting for half a century, of Manasseh followed but during these dark days the movement began to grow in strength. Prophets and priests hitherto in opposition united to protect the true religion; a literary school was founded to inculcate Isaiah's teaching and by it a new law book was drawn up to replace the Book of the Covenant. It was the Deuteronomic Code contained in our book bearing the name, insisting on the one sanctuary and the tribe of Levi as priests, and setting forth Jehovah as the one and only God. This was not the only literary effort of the D-ic School; they added a prologue and epilogue to their code, and compiled and edited records of the history of Israel during their settlement in Canaan by drawing on books like an existing JE edition of *Joshua*. An edition of *Samuel* was incorporated with editorial alterations, and *Kings* was revised. All these productions were not completed at once, but they were the work of different writers at different times, some of them of exiles in Babylon. In effect, they produced a history of Israel from earliest times to the Captivity.

For 200 years (from 650 to 450 B.C.) the D school flourished until during the exile Ezekiel set forth his vision of the future—the Temple would arise and priests to minister therein, dwelling in its precincts, who would teach the people the difference between what is clean and what is unclean, helped by Levites who would do menial service. Once again a school was formed to propagate Ezekiel's teaching—The Priestly School. Their initial labours were in Babylon, their first venture the Priestly Code; their ideas were sacerdotal, their aim to preserve religion from extinction; their method was to put back existing institutions and laws to the days of Moses and Aaron. Ezekiel idealised the future; the Priestly School idealised the past. Their code was a collection of laws in a framework of history from the creation to the death of Joshua; it was written in a legalistic style with a strong predilection for set formulae, statistics, chronology, dates and minute details of the Tabernacle, Ark, Priesthood, Priestly Vestments; a mirror in fact of the Temple and its priesthood and its ordered worship. This was the law-book which was read in 444 B.C. by Ezra to a large concourse of Jews assembled in the Temple; this was the code which saved religion and gave birth to Judaism.

Soon afterwards this code was, by the P school, combined with the book of history and law (JED) which the D-ic school had formed, and thus we got our Pentateuch; the framework of the Priestly Code served as a framework still; very little was altered and little discarded. In course of time Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah were edited and written by the same school.

Meanwhile prophetic records had begun to be collected, selected and revised. Originally committed to memory, they would in course of time be transcribed. The need of it would arise when the prophets had passed away and prophecy ceased to exist (a similar set of conditions and circumstances produced the *Gospels* and the *Acts*). Not that the prophets themselves did not write for we know Isaiah did (8¹⁶⁻²⁰, 30¹⁻¹¹), and Jeremiah too (36^{1-4, 32}) in order that subsequent generations might judge them more impartially than did the leaders and the people to whom they had made their appeal. Ezekiel also carefully and methodically wrote down his prophecies. Besides, many of their utterances were written and preserved by schools of disciples ; scattered fragments of other prophets also existed and in the course of incorporation these were inserted among the writings of the canonical prophets. Thus were cc. 40-66 added to Isaiah ; differences of style and conception and outlook shew that they are distinct from cc. 1-39 ; their writer is unknown and is generally designated the Second or Deutero-Isaiah. A collection would be given a title to shew not who the author was, but to indicate its contents. If other writings were similar in spirit and form to a collection, they were added to it.

In making collections of prophetic utterances, no regard was paid to chronological arrangement. *Ezekiel* is from the circumstances of its production a consistent whole, but in *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*, adjoining chapters or individual chapters often contain prophecies of different years and this makes their study somewhat difficult.

Thus literature served a divine purpose and our analysis has laid bare how as the nation grew in civilisation and in knowledge of both God and of man, so the literary records became of increasingly permanent value. It was divine inspiration that guided the compilers and editors to collect them and in the performance of their task to preserve sources, though in an incomplete form yet often *verbatim*, in order to shew us how God adapted His teaching to the fitness and capacity of the people to receive it, feeding them with milk as children and with meat when they reached manhood. It was divine inspiration which guided the prophets to draw on their own experience and to set on record their teaching and their work. The way was thus prepared by words for Him who was the Word of God, Who has taught us that He came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets, Whose servants have taught us to search the Scriptures whose letter killeth whereas the spirit giveth life, Whose servants have perceived that God in times past spoke in divers manners and in divers portions. We learn that the spirit can inspire men irrespective of their literary skill, that He uses the meanest intellectual gifts to serve His purpose and that Israel, even as a little child, may lead us to find God from the beginning to the end of history.

Conclusions.

First as to the Pentateuch. Moses was not its author for no single writer would or could use the remarkably diverse styles and religious outlooks. Mosaic authorship is a Jewish tradition ; it is nowhere assumed or stated in the Pentateuch ; he is referred

to in the third person and the mere statement that he is said to have written certain records naturally suggests that he did not write the rest. To hold to the Mosaic tradition is to rely on a figment not on fact; the narratives and codes we have examined prove conclusively that the contradictions and inaccuracies can only be explained by the composite character of the Pentateuch. In fact to adhere to the tradition that Moses wrote the first five books of the Bible casts the greatest possible slur on the *character* of Moses, for, if he was the author, he stands condemned as unreliable, inconsistent, and untrustworthy, not only as a historian but also as a legislator and a religious teacher; further, he also appears to us to be guilty of inordinate vanity and conceit, for only a man of that character could write such words as "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth" (Num. 12³ cf. Ex. 11⁵, Deut. 34¹⁰). The evidence is too conclusive for us to live any longer under a delusion. At the end of this chapter in the questions set for students will be found further evidence, if needed, that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch.

Then as to the meaning of Inspiration. We realise that Inspiration is not verbal and mechanical but spiritual, that to approach the Bible with any preconceived theory of Inspiration is fatal and subversive of truth. Scripture has no definition of inspiration; it asserts inspiration; the Church has not defined inspiration; she asserts her belief in inspiration. In the Bible there is a double element, the divine and the human, and to emphasise the former to the

exclusion of the latter is to rely on half a truth. God inspired the writer, not the pen of the writer.

The O.T. was originally written in Hebrew and to this day the original text has not been constructed in its original purity. We know the sacred text through translations, and a comparison of our R.V. with the A.V. proves to us how perilous it is to rely on a theory so extravagant as infallibility or inerrancy. S. Paul was gifted with prescience when he wrote that all Scripture is profitable (2 Tim. 3¹⁶); the conclusions to which our studies have led us forbid us to adopt the theory of infallibility that every word of the O.T. is literally true and of equal value—a theory which plays into the hands of unbelief and leads to disillusionment.

Lastly, God gave Israel a special revelation; this does not mean that He gave Israel a collection of books. Revelation and the Bible are not synonymous; they are related as the picture is to the frame or the diamond is to its setting. This Revelation was progressive; it was natural rather than supernatural; it was a revelation of God's gracious purpose for mankind.

Summary of Conclusions.

1. The First Six Books of the Bible were compiled from the writings of Four Literary Schools—their influence is also to be seen in the other historical narratives.
2. These schools wrote history from the point of view of their ages, interpreting the past by the present.

3. Each school may be traced by its style, vocabulary, religious outlook, and conception of God.
4. The earlier the school the more primitive is its representation of events.
5. The existence of schools of writers accounts for the contradictions in the O.T.
6. The history of Israel from the Settlement in Canaan was revised by two or more of the four schools.
7. The more remote the period of history described, the less reliable the record.
8. The history of the past, though idealised in the O.T. may be reconstructed.

QUESTIONS I.

1. How do the following passages shew that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch?
 - (a) "And the Canaanite was then in the land." Gen. 12⁶.
 - (b) "Toward the South" (*Heb.* Negeb). Gen. 12⁹, 13¹, 28¹⁴.
 - (c) "Dan." Gen. 14¹⁴ (cf. Deut. 34¹).
 - (d) "Land of the Philistines." Gen. 21³², 26¹.
 - (e) "For he is a prophet." Gen. 20⁷.
 - (f) "Unto this day." Gen. 26³³, 35²⁰.
 - (g) "In Israel." Gen. 34⁷.
 - (h) "Before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." Gen. 36³¹.
 - (i) "The land of the Hebrews." Gen. 40¹⁵.

- (j) "Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land." Lev. 26³⁴.
 - (k) "Beyond Jordan, in the land of Moab." Deut. 1⁵.
 - (l) Og's "bedstead was a bedstead of iron." Deut. 3¹¹.
 - (m) "And Moses wrote." Deut. 31⁹.
 - (n) "And Israel dwelleth in safety,
The fountain of Jacob alone,
In a land of corn and wine;" Deut. 33²⁸.
 - (o) "Moses the servant of the LORD died." Deut. 34⁵.
 - (p) "And there hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses." Deut. 34¹⁰.
2. How do the following passages indicate the date of the final compilation of the Pentateuch?
- (a) Ex. 15¹³⁻¹⁷ (song of the Red Sea).
 - (b) "Book of the wars of the LORD." Num. 21⁴.
 - (c) "They that speak in proverbs say." Num. 21²⁷.
 - (d) "Remember the days of old,
Consider the years of many generations:" Deut. 32⁷.
 - (e) The Blessing of Moses. Deut. 33.
 - (f) "Is not this written in the book of Jashar?" Josh. 10¹³.
 - (g) "He that is called a prophet was beforetime called a seer." 1 S. 9⁹. cf. with Deut. 34¹⁰.
 - (h) Num. 31²⁷ compared with 1 S. 30^{24, 25}.
3. How many accounts are given in Genesis of the following and to what sources may they be assigned?
- (a) Isaac and laughter.
 - (b) Promise of a son to Sarah.
 - (c) Hagar driven out.
 - (d) Hagar receiving promises.
 - (e) Issachar's name.

- (f) Zebulun's name.
- (g) Joseph's name.
- (h) Birth of Benjamin.

4. If the O.T. chapters are in chronological order :

- (a) What was Sarah's age when Abimelech found her beautiful and desired to take her into his harem ?
- (b) How many years was Isaac on his deathbed ?
- (c) Though Abraham was 100 years old, did he have other children born naturally ? Gen. 17¹⁷.
- (d) How many years was Moses in the land of Midian ?
- (e) How many centuries are covered by the book of Judges ?
- (f) How many years elapsed between the Creation and the Exodus ?

5. To what sources may the following be assigned ?

Gen. 4²⁶, 7⁸⁻¹⁰, 9²⁰⁻²⁷, 11¹⁻⁹, 21³³, 28¹¹⁻¹², 35¹¹.
 Ex. 1¹³, 14, 3^{1-4a}, 7-9^a, 4¹⁷⁻¹⁸, 20^b, 7⁶, 8¹⁶⁻¹⁹, 8²⁴⁻³²,
 10²⁰⁻²³, 12²⁵⁻²⁷, 12²⁹⁻³⁰, 12⁴⁰⁻⁴², 13²¹⁻²², 14²⁴⁻²⁵,
 20⁵⁻⁶, 24¹⁶⁻¹⁷, 39^{32b}.

Num. 7, 10²⁹⁻³², 10³⁴, 12³, 14^{1a}, 15¹⁷⁻²¹, 21⁵⁻⁹, 25¹⁰⁻¹¹.
 Josh. 1⁷⁻⁹, 2¹⁻¹⁰, 3⁴, 4²¹⁻⁵¹, 8³³, 13¹⁵⁻³³, 16¹⁻³,
 20-21⁴², 21⁴³⁻²²⁸.

6. What contradictions are to be found in the following ?

Give reasons for the alterations made in Chronicles.

- (a) 1 S. 1¹; 1 C. 6³³⁻³⁵. (f) 1 K. 8²⁵; 2 C. 6¹⁶.
- (b) 2 S. 6¹¹; 1 C. 13¹⁴. (g) 1 K. 9^{12, 13}; 2 C. 8².
- (c) 2 S. 5²¹; 1 C. 14¹². (h) 1 K. 10¹⁹; 2 C. 9¹⁸.
- (d) 2 S. 24¹⁻²⁵; 1 C. 21¹⁻²⁷. (i) 1 K. 15¹⁴; 2 C. 14³, 15¹⁷.
- (e) 1 K. 7¹⁵; 2 C. 3¹⁵. (j) 1 K. 22⁴³; 2 C. 17⁶, 20³³.

7. Where in the Deuteronomic code is (a) woman given her natural rights and (b) the religious training of children enjoined ?

8. What injunctions of a humanitarian character are to be found in the Book of the Covenant?
9. What contradictions exist in the following groups of verses and to what sources may the respective verses be assigned?

Genesis 11³¹, 20¹²; 35^{18, 19, 25, 26}; 35¹⁹, 37¹⁰; 46^{8, 20}; 46^{8, 27b}, Ex. 1⁵, D. 10²².

Exodus 1^{9, 15}, 12^{37, 38}; 2¹, 7⁷; 2¹⁸, 3¹, 4¹⁸, Num. 10²⁹, Jg. 4¹¹; 3¹⁸, 4²³, 7²; 4¹⁶, 7¹; 4^{1-9, 17}; 4^{18, 19}; 4^{20a, 21, 27}; 4^{20a}, 18⁵; 4^{30, 31}, 6⁹; 5^{1, 2}, 6^{12, 30}; 10^{3, 6, 7}; 12¹⁴, 13⁶; 24⁹⁻¹², 24⁴, D. 16²²; 33^{4b, 5}.

Numb. 20¹, D. 1⁴⁶, 2^{1, 14}; 22^{9-12, 20}; 22^{21, 22}.

See also questions on pp. 217, 218.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD AND THE PLACE OF WORSHIP

THE Hebrews, Canaanites, Moabites, Edomites, and Ammonites, all belonged to the Semitic race, and this relationship involved their sharing in common primitive beliefs and practices, such as the existence of gods and goddesses, circumcision as a bond of union between the deity and his worshippers, sacrifices, methods of divinations, and theories of the origin of the world, of man, of good and evil. Such elementary beliefs may be traced in the O.T. Many of them may be found in existence among the uncivilised races still existing.

The glory of the Hebrews is their advance in religious belief; whilst other races retrogressed towards polytheism and nature worship or tended towards crude pantheism, the Hebrews by slow and painful stages moved forwards from rudimentary thoughts of deity to the pure and spiritual conception of God described in the first chapter of Genesis. Now that we have discerned in the O.T. the gradual growth of a religious literature, and are conscious not only that the writers and compilers of the O.T. wrote in the light and with the conceptions of their age

but also that they retained in their records many of the primitive beliefs and practices of the past, we are able, by comparing these records with what is known of the religions of other races, to trace the stages of the progress which the Hebrew race made under the guidance of men: and these men were chiefly prophets, inspired by the Spirit of God.

The Patriarchal Age.

The Hebrews from the time of Abraham to the eighth century, when pure prophecy emerged, believed in and worshipped one God but did not deny the existence and reality of other gods; their God was Jehovah, but He was not the only God in existence; other nations had their own gods who were in their own lands as powerful and as worthy of veneration as Jehovah was in Canaan; there was Chemosh the god of Moab, Milcom the god of Ammon, the Baal of Peor, and Hadad-Rimmon the god of Damascus. Each god had his dwelling place in the territory of his worshippers, and for them he fought. This idea of each nation having its own deity is known as monolatry.

Originally, a member of a heathen race dwelling of old time beyond the Euphrates where they served other gods (Josh. 24²) a divine impulse drove Abraham to seek a new home; he had struggled towards a new faith and belief in God, a God known to the Babylonians as Jahveh, Whose character and attributes were not those of the gods of the peoples among whom he dwelt, a God demanding a higher and purer form of religion. This conception of the Patriarch, so extraordinary for the age, distinguishing

Jahveh in some respects from other gods was the first stage in the advance of Hebrew religion ; it was the first step on the ladder which reached from earth to heaven and from which ultimately was evolved that wonderful conception of God as the one and only God, the maker of heaven and earth. The religious progress of the Jewish race may be summed up in four words

FROM MONOLATRY TO MONOTHEISM,

but many hundreds of years were to elapse before the simple belief of Abraham became the pure transcendental and ethical monotheism of the Priestly writer who wrote his account of the Creation.

How did the Patriarchs conceive of God ? They knew Him as Jehovah but could not define Him. He was given titles such as *El Shaddai*, God Almighty, an irresistible power, or simply *El*, the strong one. In certain respects they were not above the ideas of the age in which they lived, for, to know His mind, resort was made to a system of divination by means of which it was believed God communicated His will under the symbols of a mysterious flame, as when in the dark a flaming torch passed between the animals Abraham had prepared for sacrifice (Gen. 15⁹⁻¹⁷), or by the sights and sounds of nature. Later writers could only represent the deity in anthropomorphic language, as one who partook of hospitality, or wrestled in physical encounters, or talked and argued with human beings. Such language is not to be understood otherwise than as words by which certain Jewish writers of the past desired to express the thoughts of God's interest in men and His nearness to them.

Again the deity's dwelling-place was in certain sacred spots; where he manifested himself once it was believed there he would do so again. Any prominent object, a remarkable stone, a sprig or green tree suggestive of life, were objects of veneration. Abraham worshipped God at the oak or terebinth of Mamre, at the tamarisk at Beersheba, and on Mount Moriah; Jacob at the stones at Bethel; Isaac at fountains and wells as at Beer-la-hai-roi. Such spots were the local sanctuaries of the O.T. and held holy as scenes of God's theophanies or manifestations. To approach them demanded some preparation and ritual; the worshipper removed his shoes, or washed his garments or his body, or wore clean garments.

The furniture of these sanctuaries was in keeping with their conception of deity and included a pillar set on end and held to be the bethel or dwelling-place of deity, where he resided as a soul inhabits a body. This was not considered idolatry, for Moses and Aaron themselves set up twelve pillars as a sign of the covenant between Jehovah and the twelve tribes, (Ex. 24⁴). There was also an altar of earth or unhewn stone for sacrifice, and a wooden pole or trunk set upright, known as Asherah, which in later years was always condemned.

The relationship between the deity and his worshippers was one of kinship and was based on a COVENANT. The deity who had manifested himself at a sanctuary was held to be one with the tribe inhabiting the locality. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob made covenants with God, in which God imposed certain conditions, but the benefit was all on man's

side. To be initiated into this covenant, the individual submitted himself to CIRCUMCISION, which brought him into blood relationship with the deity and also gave him full membership in the tribe. Thus the deity was kin to the tribe, united to them as the members of the tribe were to one another by the tie of blood. To the Patriarchs therefore Jehovah was their Father and Brother, but not in the sense our Lord has revealed to us. As He was of their blood, Jehovah was easily placated. This idea of blood relationship existed even during the monarchy; hence the names given to children, Joab (=Jahveh is father), Eliab (=El is father), Joah (=Jahveh is brother); the idea lost its hold when monotheism replaced monolatry.

Circumcision was the initiation into covenant relationship; this relationship was maintained by SACRIFICE, where kinship was cemented by a sacramental meal at which the deity was held to be present, and to whom the blood was devoted.

Amongst all the Semitic races, the sacrifice of greatest devotion and efficacy, because of the suffering and pain it involved, was that of the firstborn son; it was a sacrifice which was practised for many centuries, for example by Hiel who built Jericho (1. Kings, 16³⁴), by the king of Moab (2 Kings 3²⁷), and by the Israelites and others in the seventh century when they made their sons and daughters to pass through the fire (2 Kings 17^{17,31}). It was a custom which proved a trial to Abraham and by which his faith in Jehovah was tested. Would the God he had been guided to believe in require from him the same terrible sacrifice to prove his devotion? Abraham had been given a son in his old age. Did his God

need such a proof to shew that his affection for Him was greater than his affection for Isaac? But the sequel shews us that Abraham was taught that his God did not demand human sacrifice, that even in this supreme matter of offering the first-born son, Jehovah was different from other gods and was unique. Here again we see Abraham rising above the conceptions of deity held in his age. A later custom dedicated the first-born son to God, and his life was redeemed by that of an animal (Ex. 22²⁹, 34²⁰).

The Age of Moses.

Of the religious progress in the period from the Patriarchs to Moses we have no record. But with Moses the founder of the religion of Jehovah we meet with one of the greatest leaders of O.T. religious thought, to whom was granted not only (1) an inspiration to adopt Jehovah, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as the God of the people of Israel, but also (2) a revelation of the *meaning* of this personal name of the God of the Patriarchs, and (3) a wondrous revelation of the character of the Deity worshipped by the Patriarchs. Henceforth Jehovah is to be the God of Israel; He alone is to be worshipped by Israel.

Whence did Moses gain these striking revelations of Jehovah? The O.T. writers in their usual way attribute them all directly to God; it is a right spirit, for it signifies inspiration from God. As to the *adoption* of the name, this method of representation by the O.T. writers makes it clear that it was a Divine flash of illumination by which Moses was endowed with the spiritual discernment to adopt an

ancient Babylonian name as the watchword of the race and give it an eternal interpretation. Moses was living amongst the Kenites at the time, and he may have learnt of Jehovah from them and in particular from his father-in-law, Jethro the Kenite. He may have learnt, too, by human means that Jehovah the God whom the Patriarchs worshipped was henceforth to be more than the God of certain tribes. But a great advance and one of supreme importance and of unique significance, due not to human means, was the revelation of the meaning and character of Jehovah.

As to the *meaning*, the various interpretations in the margin of the R.V. of Exodus 3¹⁴ show how impossible it is to define it; the human mind cannot wholly define God, but most probably it means "He who will become," He who will reveal himself by degrees and will control the course of history (R.V. mg. of Ex. 3¹⁴). However it be defined, the sanctity attached to the name is unquestioned. It was a name so holy and so profound that it was never pronounced though written JHVH; how the name is to be pronounced we do not quite know to-day; it is most probably Jahveh though it is popularly read as Jehovah; it was a name which if used might lead to death by stoning (Lev. 24¹⁴, cf. 3rd Commandment).

In the meaning assigned to "Jehovah," we see revealed something of His *character*. He is the God who will gradually reveal Himself. But Moses was inspired to realise more of the character of Jehovah than this. Jehovah was also the God of righteousness; henceforth ideas of mercy and compassion are associated with Jehovah's character; He is

“the LORD, the LORD, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin” (Ex. 34^{6,7}). This ethical conception of Jehovah, demanding from Israel a moral obedience, is the pivot round which the law and teaching of Moses moves; the value of the Ten Commandments is not its law but its ethical teaching, the proclamation of the moral and spiritual nature of Jehovah. Israel was now His people, bound to render a moral obedience; they were His sons by adoption, whom He had redeemed from bondage. The idea of physical sonship was replaced by that of adopted sonship, a purer conception than that of the Patriarchs. “Israel is my son, my first-born”—it was the race as a whole, not the individual Israelite who was the son of Jehovah. Individual responsibility, individual religion, was a thing ungrasped; if a member of a race or a family sinned, the race and family were involved and were to be punished. And at Sinai when Moses took the blood of the sacrificial animals and sprinkled it on the people and said, “Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you,” Israel enters into a covenant bond with Jehovah, a covenant which is sealed by a sacrament when at the sacrificial meal the nobles of Israel eat and drink before Jehovah (Ex. 24⁷⁻¹¹).

But with these divine illuminations were associated sensuous conceptions of deity. The existence of other gods was admitted (Ex. 15¹¹, 18¹¹) though Jehovah alone was to be exclusively worshipped by Israel. What Jehovah was to Israel, Chemosh

was to Moab ; but Jehovah was above all gods (1st Comm.) and was jealous of their devotion. His presence was believed to be manifested by a flame of fire and a cloud. He was a man of war, sang Miriam and the children of Israel ; He marched before the troops, sang Deborah ; He led them in war and governed them in peace ; the enemies of Israel were His enemies, their victories His victories, their defeats His defeats.

Jehovah's dwelling place was popularly believed to be Sinai where He manifested Himself amidst the thunder and lightning, and from whence He came to aid Deborah ; there Elijah fled to hold communion with Him. He was not bound to Sinai for He had accompanied Jacob to Egypt (Gen. 46²⁻⁴) and He went before the people to the Promised Land. The Ark was a symbol of His presence ; when it was carried in front of the camp, Jehovah was believed to advance, when it was brought back to camp Jehovah Himself returned (Ex. 33¹²⁻¹⁵). It was soon associated with His dwelling place (Num. 10³³⁻³⁶) but it was not meant to be adored, and the worship of any image was forbidden. Outside the camp was a Tent or Tabernacle in charge of an Ephraimite, Joshua, and in it the Ark was placed. Where the Tent was, there was the local sanctuary of Israel. Altars existed for sacrifice and they were of earth or unhewn upright stone and without steps (Ex. 20²⁴⁻²⁵) ; it was a simpler and less elaborate worship than that of the Priestly Code with its gorgeous tabernacle and regulated orders of priesthood and ritual. Communion, as we have noted, was maintained by sacramental feasts and meals at which Jehovah was believed to be

present. Thus by sacrifices and meals, the Jewish religion became both sacrificial and sacramental in essence.

In these sensuous conceptions lay a great danger, for in the land whither the people were journeying similar conceptions prevailed; in Canaan were local sanctuaries with pillars and stones and altars and with their attendant priests and diviners; at them the Canaanites believed that their local gods or Baals had their dwelling places. The danger was one of syncretism, of identifying Jehovah with each of these Baals. One of the editors of Exodus, taught by the event, inserted the following words in Exodus, "Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works: but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and break in pieces their pillars" (Ex. 23²⁴).

From Moses to Samuel.

On entering Canaan, the nomadic Israelites were entering an agricultural country, a land ruled by its own powerful gods who gave their people gifts of corn and wine and oil; these gods were the baals or owners of their respective localities. The Israelites and Canaanites soon had sanctuaries in the same localities with almost identical furniture; prestige was attached to the baals for various reasons; the Israelites were abandoning a pastoral life for an agricultural, and the gods who gave gifts of the soil had to be propitiated. Further, the conquest of Canaan by Joshua was incomplete, successes being met with in the hill country, defeats in the plains; and settlement was effected by alliance, or by inter-

marriage. Contact, therefore, with the Canaanites could not be altogether beneficial, and with the settlement in Canaan there began a great spiritual struggle which influenced the conception of God. Jehovah had taken up his abode in Canaan ! Would He oust the local Baals ? Was He more powerful than the gods of the more civilised Canaanites and Philistines, Moabites and Ammonites ?

This conception of Jehovah as fighting against other gods in battles between the Israelites and other nations solves for us a moral problem of the O.T. Amongst all Semitic races, and Israel was one of them, the "devoting" of whole populations, men, women, and children to massacre and extermination was a common practice. It was proof of victory, and was felt to be wholly in accordance with religion : to put innocent inhabitants to death was conceived to be a religious act worthy of the deity, marking a devotion to the deity and in accordance with his mind and will. Hence the writers of the O.T. attributed to Jehovah's direct command the "devoting" of communities and regarded it as a meritorious act ; because they conceived the practice to be natural and religious, they represented it as being ordained by Jehovah, the God of their religion. We should on no account take a statement to the effect that God ordered or sanctioned such an act as if it were so in reality. Further, a ruling idea of these days down to the Exile has to be grasped before O.T. morality can be understood. Individuals had no rights as individuals ; it was the nation as a whole that Jehovah had interest in ; corporate responsibility was the only responsibility that the people admitted ;

religion was national not individual; to destroy whole communities was therefore just and equitable; morality was corporate not individual, and if a man sinned his whole family suffered. Achan sinned and his whole family was destroyed; Dathan and Abiram rebelled and they with their wives and households were destroyed; David intended to put to death the whole household of Nabal for the ingratitude of the farmer. Hence to slaughter whole communities and for the Jews to attribute it to Jehovah's express command was in keeping with the beliefs and morality of the times.

The struggle between the Israelites and other nations was therefore one for religious supremacy amongst races who were all believers in monolatry, and this belief in the existence of many gods held sway as late as the times of David and Elijah. Each deity was confined to his own land where alone he held sway and where alone he could be worshipped. Jephthah expostulated with the Ammonites, arguing that they should not interfere with the arrangements of their respective gods. Jehovah the God of Israel had dispossessed Chemosh the god of the Ammonites; that which Jehovah had thus possessed Israel would hold; let the Ammonites therefore hold that which Chemosh had given them (Judg. 11^{23, 24}). David on being driven out of the land of Jehovah into the territory of another deity felt he would be compelled to worship another god, "for they have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Jehovah, saying, Go, serve other gods" (1 Sam. 26¹⁹). Naaman begged for two mules' burden of the soil of Jehovah's land to build an altar to Jehovah

since thus only could he worship the God of Israel outside His domain, a request to which Elisha acquiesced (2 Kings 5¹⁷). Moab's victory over Israel was a victory of their god over the God of Israel; the defeat of the Israelites was a defeat of Jehovah; "there was a great wrath" of Chemosh against his enemies (2 Kings 3^{26, 27}). Sennacherib conquered both nations and their gods (2 Kings 18³²⁻³⁵). When settlers were placed by the Assyrians in Samaria, they asked for an Israelite priest to teach them "the manner of the god of the land" (2 K. 17²⁴⁻²⁸).

Jehovah not only fought for Israel but led them in battle. Meroz was cursed by Deborah for not coming to the help of Jehovah. Eli, thinking Jehovah was offended, took the Ark into battle (also see 2 S. 11¹¹). Gideon's army on attacking the Midianites raised their battle-cry, putting Jehovah first as their war-god "The sword of Jehovah and of Gideon" (*cf.* Ex. 14^{14, 27, 30}, 15¹, 19¹¹).

The fact that Jehovah's help was needed in warfare was a potent influence in safeguarding the religion of Israel from wholesale contamination, for the Israelites decked in ear-rings and jewels had gone after the Baalim and to them they had burnt incense. Israel went after her lovers and forgot God (Hosea 2¹³). They had identified Jehovah with the Canaanitish Baal, worshipped Him as Baal, and had often carried on immoral practices according to Canaanitish custom (Hosea 4^{13, 14}). There were other saving influences at work; "Judges" arose who were champions of His cause; Deborah appealed in the name of Jehovah; Gideon actually destroyed an altar of Baal; a class of Nazarites originated, to which Samuel and Samson

belonged; who by refusing to take wine served as a counter-acting force against the belief that Baal alone was the giver of the produce of the soil; and the central sanctuary at Shiloh preserved the true worship of Jehovah. When more peaceful conditions existed, the local sanctuaries of Baal were absorbed by the more virile tribes of Israel, the Canaanites were exterminated in Solomon's reign, and Jehovah was acknowledged to be more powerful than the local Baals and became the God both of the land and of the people Israel. With the dedication of the Temple, Jehovah finally took possession of Canaan and had a special dwelling place; special sanctity was attached to the Temple as the sanctuary of the Capital and by the presence of the Ark, which had hitherto lain in a building with doors at Shiloh and had been in charge of Eli. But even the existence of the Temple did not extinguish local sanctuaries.

Every town had its sanctuary chiefly on adjoining hills and hence the term "high places." "Their god is a god of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we" report the Syrian servants to their king in extenuation of their defeat (1 Kings 20²³). Where professional priests were available, they lived at the sanctuaries and gave their oracle by the use of Urim and Thummim, probably sacred stones. When the answer was given Jehovah was held to speak and in the O.T. is represented as speaking in person. The answer of the oracle was the personal voice of God. To go up to a sanctuary was to go up to God (Ex. 19^{3, 17, 21}, 22⁸, 1 S. 10³); Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the LORD, *i.e.* at the altar of Jehovah in Gilgal (1 S. 15³³). David when he consulted the oracle is

said to have inquired of the LORD and the answer given by the oracle is represented by "and the LORD said" (1 S. 23²⁻⁵, 9-12, 30⁷⁻⁹); it will be noticed that the inquiries were stated in such a form as to require a simple answer—Yes or No (see also 2 S. 2¹, 5¹⁹, 21¹). David on one occasion is said to have "sat before the LORD," which means that he sat in the tent where the Ark was (2 S. 7¹⁸).

The one future sanctuary of Deuteronomy and the sanctuary of the Priestly Code did not yet exist. Samuel sacrificed at Ramah, Solomon at Gibeon, which was the great high place; at Bethel and Gilgal and Nob were local sanctuaries. It was not against the existence of these sanctuaries that the prophets raised their voice, but against the manner in which Jehovah was worshipped therein. Elijah sets up an altar at Carmel, and when he fled to Sinai complained not against the multitudinous altars in the land but against their destruction: "the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword:" (1 Kings 19¹⁰). The furniture still consisted of altars of earth or unhewn stone—not the brazen altar of the Priestly Code—and also of stone pillars and asherim, which latter were now associated with the impure worship of the Canaanites. In the time of the divided monarchy Jeroboam added metal bull calves, not to set up a rival religion for these represented the God that had brought the Israelites out of Egypt (1 Kings 12²⁸), but as a rival attraction to the Temple. Both kingdoms were anxious to gain the favour of Jehovah.

The Monarchy.

When under the influence of Samuel, monarchy was established as the form of government, religion was endangered not from Canaanitish cults but from the matrimonial alliances with foreign powers, for with these foreign wives were introduced foreign religions. The first instance is that of Solomon who married foreign princesses whose gods were active rivals of Jehovah, but no ill results followed since the sanctuaries of these rival deities were private and not public. But when Ahab's wife Jezebel introduced into the public worship of the northern kingdom the religion of Baal of Tyre and Ashtoreth of Sidon and proceeded to persecute the worshippers of Jehovah the position became acute. A strong powerful god of a prosperous nation was believed to be invading the land, and Jehovah was almost forgotten. In this dire crisis God raised up deliverers in the persons of Elijah and Elisha, the former leading into the conflict schools founded probably by Samuel and known as "the sons of the prophets"; Elijah directed their nationalistic enthusiasm towards the struggle of religions, and the Rechabites, who desired a return of the people to the primitive life of the past, gave him their active support. Elijah perceived that the real issue was more than a struggle between rival deities, that though the worship of the Tyrian Baal meant a reversion to a debasing nature worship, yet the deeper issue involved the ethical character of Jehovah, which was in jeopardy; therefore national righteousness was at stake. Elijah was thus a worthy successor of Moses but he went further than his

precursor in his conceptions of God. To Elijah, Jehovah was not exclusively the God of Israel; He was not bound always to fight for Israel; Israel alone was not His agent; the Syrians might be His agents (1 K. 19¹⁵⁻¹⁷); as for the Baals they were no gods. Ethical monotheism was now inevitable.

The religious conflict was carried on by Elisha, who found in Jehu a keen adherent of Jehovah and with his active help brought about the massacre of the followers of the Tyrian Baal. The nation then reverted to their allegiance to Jehovah. To the southern kingdom, too, the struggle had extended through the marriage of its king to Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel. The Temple was desecrated and neglected until she was overthrown by the high priest Jehoiada who, interpreting the national feeling aright, proclaimed Joash as King (2 K. 11). Thus, while prophetism saved Jehovah worship in the north, the priesthood saved it in the south. Joash restored the Temple but there was no movement yet for making it the sole sanctuary of the nation; local sanctuaries abounded and at them sacrifices were offered, Jehovah was worshipped, and His will deemed to be revealed by the divine oracle.

It was during the monarchy, about 850 B.C., that a written literature was born to be an influence in national life. The Jehovist School in the south was followed by the Elohist School in the north. Their conception of God influenced their representation of Him; they knew Him as a personal Being but could not realise Him except under human conditions; the Jehovists had to rely on anthropomorphic conceptions, the Elohist in the next century advanced to a more

spiritualised thought of God as revealing His will by dreams and visions and prophetic agency. Their aim was religious, to proclaim the sovereignty of God, His nearness to man, His interest in human affairs. Their methods of expression were limited by the thoughts, ideas, and knowledge of their days. Hence in the O.T. we read of God in human form or speaking in dreams. Thus in the representation of the deity, we must distinguish between fact and the representation of fact, between religious truth and the garb in which it is clothed.

The existence of irrelevant and puerile notions of God to-day is due to the inability of many to distinguish between the truth the writers desired to express and the words in which they expressed them. The two schools of literary men had to teach that God was a Divine Being, interested in human beings; their narratives were necessarily limited by their stage of knowledge. For example, they attributed to God words which the writers thought would be worthy of Him, and pictured Him as acting in Person in a way that in those days would redound to His honour. Their aim was praiseworthy, their method in accordance with the thought of their age. Thus when we read that God spoke to Abraham or Moses face to face we should not interpret it literally. No man has seen God at any time, said our Lord. Neither Abraham nor Moses nor any man had seen God; God is not human in outline form or figure. He is represented as speaking because thus only could the writers represent Him as influencing the minds and hearts of man, guiding them aright and controlling their action. Jehovah did not wrestle with Jacob in actual

fact; this is a mode of expressing a conflict which was in reality spiritual and which ended in a spiritual change in Jacob's character. God did not seek to kill Moses (Ex. 4²⁴); it is an anthropomorphism for "Moses was dangerously ill"; that the tables of the Decalogue were written "by the finger of God" means that the Decalogue is of ancient origin, great antiquity, and of great sanctity; that "God repents" is a method of expressing a change in an attitude of God previously announced, due to a change in the conduct of men. Enoch, Noah, and Abraham "walked with God," that is they lived a life of close communion with God; Enoch we are told, "was not for God took him," which means that this communion was not interrupted by death. God did not speak in person to Elijah on Mount Horeb; this is the garb which clothes the spiritual communion of the prophet. God through Samuel did not say David was a man after His own heart, but David, the nation's ideal king is represented by the writer as receiving from God a meritorious judgment which the writer held that he deserved to get. So, too, at local sanctuaries when the oracle by lot suggested a course of action, it is the voice of God which is said to have spoken to those who were appearing before God. And again, when the prophets spoke, they did so under commission, as they felt, from God; their words were His words, and hence the "Thus saith Jehovah."

The writers went much further, for they attributed even evil to the act of God. For example, every form of disease and mental aberration was in olden days believed to be due to the agency of evil spirits,

and the Israelites added to this belief another idea that Jehovah was ruler of all spirits; hence when Saul suffered from a kind of melancholia they said "an evil spirit from God" troubled him. So also when Pharaoh acted obstinately, they said "The LORD hardened his heart." When the false prophets spoke pleasing words to king Ahab, it was because God had put a lying spirit in them. When David numbered Israel it was due to the anger of the Lord, who is said to have punished the king for a sin which was the direct result of Jehovah's moving David to take a census (2 S. 24¹). So also with plagues, their occurrence was supposed to be a sign of Jehovah's displeasure. It was the hand of God that sent the bubonic plague amongst the Philistines (1 S. 5), which occurring at the time of the presence of the Ark was associated with it; it was the angels of the LORD who went forth and smote the Assyrian hosts (2 K. 19³⁵). As with plagues so with natural phenomena. When, during the mission of Moses and Aaron to Egypt, the land was visited with a succession of calamities, such as hail, dust-storms, drought, an unusual rise of the river, a plague which carried off the youth of the nation, the presence of the Israelite leaders was associated with them and the compilers represented them as plagues sent by God. So when in the battle of Bethhoron a hailstorm helped in the discomfiture of the Canaanites it was Jehovah who rained hailstones; the darkness which accompanied the storm was represented as the sun standing still. The providential, in other words, became the miraculous. All such events must, therefore, not be regarded as miraculous but are to be read in the light

of the ideas of the times—the representation must be distinguished from the thing represented.

The era of Elijah and Elisha also saw the widening of Israel's national horizon ; foreign wars and foreign nations brought the Jews into contact with Syria and Assyria. But with increasing external dangers the political internal life of the nation instead of being united was one of civil strife and internecine warfare. How would Jehovah's religion emerge from this welter ? The Jews were a divided nation at a time when unity was essential, namely, when foreign powers were claiming world-wide supremacy. It was another crisis in religion and once again God manifested Himself through human agents. As He had raised up Elijah in a religious crisis, so now in a political crisis which was threatening national existence and the very religion of Jehovah, He raised up those mighty prophets of the eighth century who guided religion and religious thought until even disaster and exile were seen to serve the true purpose of God. Yet through such calamities He, through the prophets, taught the people that He was the one and only true God of all the nations of the earth.

We may here summarise the main religious ideas of the Hebrews from the days of Moses to the days of Elijah when monolatry began to be replaced by monotheism.

THESE IDEAS EXPLAIN THE MORAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE O.T.

1. Jehovah was the God of Israel alone and could be worshipped only in Canaan. Other gods existed,

2. Jehovah was the war-god of Israel and led them in battle.
3. Jehovah was the author of good and evil, of plagues and of natural phenomena.
4. Jehovah could be worshipped at any local sanctuary and His will ascertained by the oracle.
5. Jehovah was near to man but the responsibility of man was corporate; the interest of Jehovah was national rather than personal.
6. Jehovah directly ordered that which was held to be in accordance with the best and highest religious thoughts of the age.

From Monolatry to Monotheism.

The glories of the reign of David were temporarily revived by Jeroboam II. (781-740 B.C.) but with prosperity came attendant social evils, such as extravagances of the rich, oppression of the poor, laxity of worship. All this boded ill for a nation over whom the shadow of Assyria had begun to fall, for this mighty Empire had begun to put forth its tentacles to grasp the countries which lay around it. To stir up national and religious life there arose the great canonical prophets, Amos and Hosea in the northern Kingdom, Isaiah and Micah in the southern. As prophets they were preachers rather than predictors, forthtellers rather than foretellers. They came to interpret the will of Jehovah, to proclaim His moral demands, to right social ills. Taught by the political events of their day and in particular by the rapid progress of Assyria, they asserted

Jehovah's sovereignty over all the world ; that which Elijah had perceived they developed and expanded. Distressed by the oppression of the poor, the formalism of the priests and the people, they insisted on Jehovah's demands for moral righteousness.

Their work was necessary, for the popular conception of Jehovah had not advanced since the days of Elijah. Jehovah's interests were confined to the Jewish nation, for them alone He cared ; enemies might press on every side but the " Day of Jehovah " was coming when He would overthrow them. To think otherwise was blasphemy. Of His moral claims they remained oblivious ; they flocked to sanctuaries and high places, offered sacrifices in a formal manner, mingled ritual with revelry ; Canaanitish emblems were retained and Assyrian emblems introduced.

Each of these prophets had his contribution to make towards the conception of God. That of Amos was puritanic—Jehovah was a righteous God, severe in His judgment of nations for breaches of the moral law ; that of Hosea was compassionate—Jehovah was a God of love ready to welcome the repentant nation ; that of Isaiah was holy. Each gave that contribution which his own experience had revealed to him ; Amos was inspired by his life amid the stern and desolate lands of the Tekoa highlands where he lived, Hosea by his own domestic sorrow in the possession of an unfaithful wife whose love he sought to reclaim, Isaiah by a sense of his own unworthiness as he heard heavenly voices around him. Above and beyond this three-fold conception was one in which they all united—Jehovah was the one and only God, the Omnipotent, whose power extended over and

beyond the land of Israel, whose sway extended wherever righteousness was recognised. True it was that Israel was His peculiar people, that He had chosen them to be a name and a glory for Him and to reveal through them His purposes for mankind. But this involved a reciprocal claim, moral righteousness, from those whom He had chosen. To be blind to this claim was the way to extinction through exile, but though Israel as a nation might cease to exist, Jehovah would not fall with them.

But the voices of the prophets sounded in a spiritual wilderness. High places were thronged and sacrifices multiplied but there was no moral amendment. Nay rather, immorality was practised at the sanctuaries and superstitions were associated with the stone pillar and the wooden post; to the events of history people and priests remained blind. Samaria fell before Assyria and the religious life of the Jewish race passed to Judah, but there was no change of heart or will. Popular worship continued its hold on the people; religion sank to the lowest depths under Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, but there were pious souls who felt that salvation would be effected only by a complete severance from past associations. They laid down their ideals in a law book but they could not put them into operation whilst the evil king Manasseh reigned. But in Josiah's reign the book was found in the Temple, and through the reading of it the religious life of the nation was quickened and revived. All local sanctuaries were abolished and Jerusalem became the one sole Sanctuary to express visibly the monotheistic faith of the people. They placed themselves "under law" and a law book

became the covenant bond between Jehovah and His people. Ceremonial practices began to gather round the central sanctuary but there was no moral amendment. In vain did the law book call on the people to be holy as Jehovah their God was holy ; they were obsessed with the conviction, which Isaiah had supported, that Jerusalem was inviolable.

One of those who had probably taken part in the reformation but was disappointed with its failure was the prophet Jeremiah. He lived a lonely life, for his preaching was unheeded ; forsaken by the people because he warned them that though Jerusalem was the one great sanctuary of God, yet it would be destroyed, forsaken also by the priests because he laid stress on moral laws as against ritual, he found consolation in personal communion with Jehovah. This isolation inspired him to grasp a wondrous truth which was wholly foreign to the thought of the age or of any past age, that the love and mercy of God were not for Israel as a nation but for each Israelite as an individual, that God would make a new covenant with the house of Israel, a spiritual covenant to replace the covenant made at Horeb. " I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it " (31^{33, 34}). In the prophet's own lifetime Jerusalem fell (586 B.C.), and the best manhood of the nation was led into exile ; on these exiles now depended the maintenance of religion ; amongst them was current a proverb which expressed their dismay and doubt, " The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Why did God punish them for the sins of their fathers when they had lived to the best of their knowledge ?

These questionings were solved by Ezekiel, the prophet of the Exile, and the second Isaiah. Jehovah's omnipotent power was to be seen in defeat ; if Judah was punished it was the due reward of their guilt, for from the time of their redemption from Egypt they had rebelled against Him ; punishment was in His hands a stern necessity to lead them to a purer and deeper conception of Him. Jehovah was transcendent, and between Him and man the distance was infinite, but His love for the individual was as infinite ; man must live his personal religion not apart but as a member of the spiritual body, the congregation, the church. Thus did Ezekiel state the complementary truth of that which Jeremiah taught.

A further contribution was made by the Second-Isaiah. Jehovah had chosen Israel to be His suffering servant ; He had punished them to shew that if Israel suffered double for its own sins, it was because Israel was suffering also for the sins of other nations. Jehovah needed no earthly dwelling place, no sole sanctuary, " The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool " (Is. 66^{1, 2}).

Thus was the way prepared for the Incarnation. From primitive and rudimentary conceptions of God and His dwelling place, little by little, by stages adapted to their growth, Jehovah guided His chosen people to perceive His greatness and His character. Pure transcendental monotheism has emerged victorious. The nation has become a Church and in the Church, under Christ, a spiritual covenant is entered into and maintained by spiritual means ; there His special Presence is communicated to His believing worshippers.

CHAPTER III

PROPHECY

"BEFORETIME in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he said, Come and let us go to the seer : for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer" (1 Samuel 9⁹). From the unspiritual order of seers or diviners sprang the spiritual order of the prophets, an effective illustration of the gradual and progressive growth of religious institutions.

Diviners probably existed in patriarchal times at local sanctuaries ; they might have been found at Mamre (which may mean soothsayer) ; and divination, we have seen, was a means by which in pre-Mosaic days the will of the deity was communicated. In the time of the settlement in Canaan, they were a recognised order both among the Israelites and the Canaanites and this common existence was one of those causes which led to the syncretism of religion (p. 87) ; the danger of the identification of Jehovah with the Baals of Canaan was stated by the Deuteronomic writer to have been perceived by Moses. He represents Moses as warning the Israelites to beware of divination, magic, and spiritualism as being an abomination to Jehovah (Deut. 18⁹⁻¹⁵).

Samuel is the first seer or diviner known to us by name, and in the book that bears his name he is represented both as a great prophet and as an unknown seer. These two traditions of him are not necessarily conflicting. In his earlier days he was a seer of no reputation to whom Saul resorted in his search for his father's asses, to whom the Benjamite felt a present in money or kind ought to be made, and to whom, it was held, Jehovah had given the gift of second sight (1 S. 9⁶⁻¹⁵); but Samuel possessed a stability and judgment which placed him on a higher plane than that of other seers and which entitled him to the honoured name of prophet. We do not read of him that he was subject to frenzied ecstasy, which was the usual mark of the seers; it was an unhealthy excitement affecting others like a contagious disease and capable of being stimulated by music (2 K. 3¹⁵). These seers were like modern dervishes; twice, we are told, was Saul infected by the frenzy, to the surprise of the people who evidently had a low estimate of the religious fanatics. "What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 S. 10⁵⁻¹³, 19¹⁸⁻²⁴). Do we not read of the wild antics of the "prophets" of Baal on Mount Carmel and of Jehu's description of the prophet who anointed him as a "madman"? The diviners were evidently an irregular and defective prophetism. Yet they were capable of serving a high cause for they appeared as a recognised class at the time of the Philistine oppression; probably organised by Samuel into schools, "the sons of the prophets," they played a part by fostering patriotism in the struggle against the Philistines.

The schools had centres as at Gilgal, Bethel and Jericho ; Elisha, of whom it is said that "when the minstrel played, the hand of the LORD came upon him" (2 K. 3¹⁵) belonged to these guilds.

Samuel was therefore a prophet in a real sense set apart by God from boyhood for the prophet's work (1 S. 3²⁰, 4¹). He with Nathan, Gad, and Elijah were the fore-runners of the later canonical prophets ; they form the intermediate order between the diviners and the great prophets that were yet to come. They acted according to their best lights and it is only thus that we can understand the repulsive slaughter of the Amalekites and their king Agag ; in many ways their acts and work shew the possession of a high sense of vocation, for whilst Samuel sought to preserve religion and strengthen the idea of nationality, Nathan and Gad by rebuking David fought for the rights of individuals against oppression, and Elijah struggled as well for true religion on Mount Carmel as for national righteousness when he rebuked Ahab for prostituting justice to serve cupidity. From Samuel to Elijah therefore we recognise the growth of new functions ; the prophets turn from patriotism to religion. We notice in the lives of these men very little prediction ; they were essentially preachers of righteousness, redressing wrongs, rebuking sins, calling on kings and people to repentance. There is distinct progress therefore in vocation, a progress made more marked when we realise that the defective method of divination was replaced by the human spirit, acting under the guidance of Jehovah.

But with this regular prophetism there existed a spurious type which was repeatedly denounced by

the true prophets. In the classic account of Micaiah, mention is made of a body of "false prophets" who prophesied for gain and prophesied smooth things (I K. 22). Their influence on the minds of the people was unfortunately widespread and proved disastrous in the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel some centuries later. Thus whilst false prophecy flourished, true prophecy fell into abeyance, until it was resuscitated in the years which saw the growing menace of Assyrian supremacy and Israelite impotence.

The three stages of prophetism correspond with three great crises of history; against the Philistine oppression God raised up diviners, against the "invasion" of the foreign cult of the Baal of Tyre God raised up prophets, against the advance of mighty empires of the East God raised up the great prophets. As the outlook of the nation widened, so did the conception of prophetism and the conception of God.

It was in the eighth century before Christ that the Assyrian Empire was rising to its zenith. In Israel and Judah, the hundred years war with Syria had come to a close; the peace which followed had produced a state of great material prosperity; wealth had increased in the hands of the noble class, but the poor had been correspondingly oppressed. The luxury, selfishness and immorality of the rich, the venality of the judges who sold justice for bribes, the fashionable but formal religion practised at the sanctuaries, the ostentation in making offerings, the religious laxity of the priests, the revelry which accompanied worship, were outward signs of a canker eating at the heart of the nation. Prosperity had blinded the people; they gloried in their powers, "Have we not

taken to us horns by our own strength''; they anticipated a great Day of Jehovah when He would by a signal victory overthrow His enemies. Had He not shown proof of His special solicitude for them by giving them such prosperity? The northern and southern kingdoms thought alike and acted alike. To a nation, materialistic, unspiritual, and blinded, came the voice of God speaking through His servants, the prophets.

Prophets were men who felt themselves commissioned by Jehovah; inspired by Him they could not act otherwise than deliver His message. A prophet was the mouth of Jehovah (Jer. 15¹⁹), as Aaron was the mouth of Moses, and Moses the mouth of Jehovah (Ex. 7¹, 4¹⁶). Hence the prophets' words are the words of the LORD; they are authoritative.

Amos (circ. 760 B.C.).

The first of the eighth century prophets to utter words of warning and rebuke was Amos. He admitted he was no prophet by profession, but that Jehovah had taken him from his work as a shepherd and a dresser of sycamore trees, saying, "Go, prophesy to my people Israel"; with the professional guilds of prophets who only sought popularity and prophesied for gain, pandering to the desires of their patrons, he disclaimed all connection. From his own home in the highlands of Tekoa in Judah he made his way to Bethel, the royal and chief sanctuary of Israel in the north, and there in the presence of a crowd, and of Amaziah the priest of the sanctuary, he uttered his warnings of doom. "Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive

out of his land " (7¹¹). Amaziah drove him away, but the fearless prophet would not depart without a threat against the priest and his family. To the people in general, the stern Amos spoke fateful words, and presented a counter-blast to their popular view of Jehovah. He was not the God of Israel alone ; it was He who had not only brought Israel out of Egypt but even the Philistines and Syrians, and was then raising up Assyria to do his behests. The people might say, " Us only does Jehovah know," but Amos pointedly affirmed, " You only have I known of all the families of the earth : therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities " (3²) ; the people might wait for a victorious day of Jehovah, but it would not be such as they imagined ; it would be " darkness and not light, even very dark and no brightness in it " (5²⁰) ; they might take pride in their own strength but " the virgin of Israel is fallen ; she shall no more rise " (5²) ; they might rely on formal worship but Jehovah required the worship of the spirit. " I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies " (5²¹). They had introduced star worship from Assyria, but they and these false idols would go into captivity beyond Damascus.

As for the national conception of God, it was altogether warped ; immorality was practised under the cloak of religion. The moral character of Jehovah was neglected, whereas Amos taught that by the moral law Jehovah judged not only Israel, but all nations ; it was not Chemosh, the god of Ammon, but Jehovah, the God of Hosts, the Omnipotent, who would punish the Ammonites for their inhumanity to other nations ; Edom, Moab, Philistia were all judged by Him.

Amos is thus the stern moralist and puritanic prophet. It was left to his successor in the line of prophets to proclaim the supplementary truth that Jehovah loved even while He chastened.

Hosea (circ. 745 B.C.).

Within a few years of the prophecies of Amos, Ephraim had become a vassal of Assyria and the fall of its capital, Samaria, was only a matter of time. The words of the herdman prophet had aroused resentment and were held to be blasphemous; priests and people sank into lower depths of degradation; Canaanitish practices and ideas were more strongly favoured; Jehovah continued to be identified with Baal and was worshipped under the form of a metal bull; sacrifices were increased by the priests that they might make unrighteous gains; "whoredom and wine and must had turned their heads."

On the eve of the fall of Samaria, Hosea appeared. Taught by his own domestic sorrow, he portrayed the character of God in a spirit which strongly influenced the Deuteronomic school of writers. His wife, after bearing three children, to whom he had given names symbolic of his country's downfall, Jezreel (God soweth), Lo Ruhamah (unpitied), Lo Ammi (not my people), had left his home for a life of immorality. From this depravity he ransomed her for a small price, and kept her in seclusion that he might lead her to repentance and win back her love (1¹⁻⁹, 3). If, he argued, his love for an unfaithful wife was so great, how much greater must the love of Jehovah be for His unfaithful people. Israel had gone a whoring from God, but said Jehovah,

“ When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. As they called them, so they went from them : they sacrificed unto the Baalim, and burned incense to graven images. Yet I taught Ephraim to go ; I took them on my arms ; but they knew not that I healed them. I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love ” (II 1-4). Israel worshipped calves but they were “ other gods ” ; Bethel, the house of God, has become Beth-aven, the house of vanity.

Hosea is therefore the prophet of the loving kindness of God, as Amos is of the righteousness of God.

In 722 B.C. Samaria fell before Assyria ; religious life became dependent on the kingdom of Judah. Samaria was colonised by settlers from the land of the victors ; a mixed race, the Samaritans, resulted, and in the later years the Jews refused to have fellowship with them. But to them came Jesus Christ and among them He found the Good Samaritan, the woman of Samaria, and the grateful Samaritan leper.

Isaiah (circ. 740-700 B.C.).

Before the fall of Samaria, Isaiah the statesman-prophet was called to his work in Judah, which, like its sister-kingdom of Ephraim, had attained a height of prosperity, and like her was afflicted with the same social evils, the same blind optimism, the same ideas of morality, and the same conception of Jehovah. For nearly forty years Isaiah prophesied in Judah during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah.

The Political Diplomacy of Isaiah. The southern kingdom of Judah was threatened by an alliance between Syria and Ephraim, which was formed with

the avowed object of destroying its independence. Ahaz, king of Judah, desired an alliance with Assyria in order to restore the balance of power. The fatal effect of such an alliance was perceived by Isaiah ; he realised that the religious life of the country was endangered by a seeming want of faith in Jehovah, and that the heathen power would shortly crush both Syria and Ephraim. Deeply agitated by the political and religious dangers, he interviewed Ahaz at the conduit of the pools, warned him against his want of faith in Jehovah, and offered him a sign from the whole creation ; the king refused the proof and the prophet voluntarily gave him the sign of Immanuel, " A virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel " ; it was a pledge of deliverance from the foe. But Ahaz rebuffed the prophet and entered into an alliance with Assyria, and by this act became a vassal state of the mighty ally and so remained, whilst Samaria paid for her rebellion with her existence as a nation. Isaiah temporarily gave up prophesying, but not before he had predicted the overthrow of the confederation hostile to Judah and an Assyrian invasion of Judah itself ; he then turned his attention to educating a band of disciples and to authorship, that posterity might learn and take to heart his message and his warnings (7-8¹⁸).

After the Assyrian conquest of Samaria, Judah, a small kingdom in the shape of a rough square of fifty miles, now lay between two great Empires, Assyria on the north and Egypt on the south. A crisis was precipitated by Egypt, which, taking advantage of an attack on Assyria by the Chaldeans, tried to

stir up a spirit of disaffection among neighbouring states against the northern power. For nearly twenty years Judah had remained neutral, but now two parties came into existence, one favouring revolt against Assyria and an alliance with Egypt, the other in favour of maintaining friendly, though tributary, relations with Assyria. Isaiah's policy was that of quietness and confidence in Jehovah; he did not expect Judah to be spared the fate of Ephraim, but he saw that by a wise policy he might secure the safety of a large proportion of the people. At first his influence prevailed, but the views of the pro-Egyptian party began to gain the ascendancy; the false prophets were in open opposition to him, speaking smooth things, prophesying deceits, and causing belief in the Holy One of Israel to cease. In vain did Isaiah protest, walking through Jerusalem barefoot and in captive garb, saying, "So shall the king of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt, and the exiles of Ethiopia" (20¹⁻⁶). An alliance with Egypt was formed and Hezekiah revolted. Once again Isaiah committed his Egyptian prophecies to writing, that future generations might read of the unbelief of the nation.

Twice was Judah attacked by the Assyrians. On the first occasion the foe was bought off with a large tribute; the people, heedless of the price of deliverance and of the humiliation it involved, gave themselves over to festivity and revelry, expressing their feelings by saying, "Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die." It was fatalism, and to Isaiah it sounded the death-knell of the kingdom (22¹⁻¹⁴). On the second occasion the holy city was besieged, and, in his distress,

Hezekiah the king sought the prophet's help (2 K. 18) ; once Isaiah had pronounced a woe on Jerusalem under the mystic name of Ariel (Is. 29.), but now, when destruction seemed inevitable, he advocated resistance ; Sennacherib would not conquer the city, " By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come unto this city, saith the LORD. For I will defend this city to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake " (37^{34, 35}). The prediction was fulfilled and the Assyrian host miraculously destroyed ; it was the greatest moment in the prophet's life, but the result was disastrous, for the doctrine of the inviolability of Jerusalem became a dogma and served to increase the blindness of the people. Jehovah would always and in all circumstances protect the city which He had chosen to dwell in.

The Teaching of Isaiah. Amos had proclaimed the righteousness of Jehovah, and Hosea the loving kindness of Jehovah. To these two views of the character of God Isaiah added a third—the holiness of Jehovah. In a vision, he saw the seraphim stand before God in the attitude of service, and one cried unto another and said,

" Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts :
The whole earth is full of his glory."

It is a holiness beyond conception, not a mere attribute, but the very essence of Jehovah's character ; it is a holiness which makes men perceive their unworthiness and uncleanness ; the prophet's own lips must be purified before he could hold converse with Jehovah. Did the people expect a " day of Jehovah "

in which all their enemies would be overthrown? Isaiah's perception of Jehovah's holiness led him to a different conclusion. The holiness of Jehovah involved a day of judgment for all nations, not a day of victory for Israel who had despised the Holy One of Israel. To the prophet, History was the unfolding of the purposes of God, who was not simply unique among other gods but was the one and only God; the whole world was an expression of His glorious majesty; Jehovah was guiding the world and in the events of history was marching towards His final goal, the establishment of a kingdom of righteousness. How did Isaiah come to this startling conclusion? It was through his conception of statesmanship; from the rapid progress of Assyria he deduced a universal kingdom of God. In that day Jehovah would be exalted and His purpose of salvation would be effected by the birth of a wonderful child of David's line (9¹⁻²⁷). The belief was, however, limited by the outlook of the age, which could only conceive of the nation and not the individual as the unit. The sense of individual responsibility was defective and so religion was a bond between Jehovah and the nation; the love and obedience which Jehovah demanded was that of the community; the sins castigated by the prophet are not those committed by individuals but by them as a nation. It was of Israel that Jehovah was the Holy one.

Disappointment awaited Isaiah's preaching. To no purpose did he inveigh against the corruption and sinful follies of Judah, their sensuous life, their religious indifference, their superstitious practices. They turned a deaf ear to his call to a holy and moral

worship ; they remained sceptical to and unbelieving of the lessons he drew from history. In vain did Isaiah protest that the anger of the Lord was kindled against them and that He was summoning a terrible and warlike nation to be the instrument of Judah's punishment.

But the whole nation would not perish ; a *remnant*, the spiritual kernel of the nation, would survive the approaching doom ; the nation would be replaced by a "holy seed," not in the dim future but in the age succeeding the overthrow of Assyria ; with this pious remnant, who would be the nucleus of the kingdom of God, Egypt and Assyria, laying aside their hostility, would enter into a Messianic league (19²³⁻²⁸). Thus the day of judgment was to be followed by a Messianic age, the goal of the Divine purpose of history. It was to be a kingdom of peace ; its pledge was the birth of a son to be called Immanuel (7¹⁴⁻¹⁶), who was to be "Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace." He was to be a scion of the house of David, to uphold it with judgment and with righteousness. Here again we see one of those divine illuminations which come to inspired men. Isaiah's spiritual eyes beheld the birth of a Messiah, and to his successor Micah was given the power not only to suggest the circumstances of the Messiah's birth but to predict that out of Bethlehem, the home of David, would come forth the ruler of Israel.

Isaiah is the greatest of the prophets ; to him we owe the conceptions of the holiness of God and His all-disposing purpose in history, the doctrine of the "remnant," and the promise of the Messiah. But

great though these contributions to religious thought are, they are not all. To him is due a great concept in religious life ; it is " faith." By the conduit of the upper pool, where the Rabshakeh, an Assyrian official, was to proclaim Jehovah's impotence against the gods of Assyria, there Isaiah met king Ahaz and said, " If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established." Thus was born the idea of " faith " ; it was in faith in Jehovah that the prophet called on the nation to trust in its critical hours, " in quietness and confidence shall be your strength," and not in flying against the foe on horses.

To Isaiah's teaching the nation was antagonistic, but his work survived in a school trained in his doctrine. His ideals faded away in the long and disastrous reign of Hezekiah's son Manasseh, when prophecy became silent. Assyria fell before its Chaldean enemies (608 B.C.) and exultation spread in Judah ; " behold on the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings of peace " (Nahum), but no Messianic age followed. Isaiah's predictions were not fulfilled as he had anticipated, but his religious teaching was continued by his disciples, from amongst whom emerged the Deuteronomic School of writers. The spirit of Isaiah and Hosea are in the book of Deuteronomy, and in it the prophets though dead yet speak to us of the love and holiness of God. Among those who worked for a revival and for reform was the prophet Jeremiah.

Jeremiah (circ. 626-586).

The Deuteronomic reformation in Josiah's reign, 621 B.C., brought the nation under a law book ;

many reforms were carried out with much earnestness, and a passover was celebrated in accordance with the provisions of the book. Five years previously Jeremiah, a priest, had been called to his prophetic office; and, from the day of his call, he had learned to accept isolation and opposition from kings, priests, and people, against whom Jehovah made him "a defenced city and an iron pillar, and brasen walls." "They shall fight against thee; but they shall not prevail against thee: for I am with thee" (I^{18, 19}).

The course of the reformation was a disappointment to the prophet. Superstitions increased and men continued to feel secure under the dogma of the inviolability of Jerusalem. For thirteen years Jeremiah remained silent, and in these years the Assyrian empire had begun to break in pieces under the attacks of the Chaldeans; the king of Egypt seized the opportunity of establishing his sovereignty over Syria. Josiah, probably in a spirit of loyalty to his suzerain, opposed the Egyptian forces in battle at Megiddo and there he was slain (608 B.C.). His death was a great blow to Judah; a great apostasy followed and the nation was divided into two parties, one abandoning Jehovah, the other resorting to extremes of ritual and sacrifices to win Jehovah's favour. The king Jehoiakim who succeeded Josiah proved weak and worthless; he accepted the overlordship of Egypt, whilst the people resorted to oppression and luxurious living as sedatives in affliction. Jeremiah then broke silence, and in the beginning of the new king's reign, he stood in the court of the Lord's house and predicted that the Temple

would be destroyed as the sanctuary at Shiloh had been, and that Jerusalem would be in ruins. At this, priests and false prophets and people were goaded to fury and demanded his death ; the princes however delivered him as not worthy of death (*c.* 26). The prophet's threats of imminent ruin were renewed three years later when Nebuchadnezzar defeated Egypt at the great battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.). He was now inspired to commit the substance of his prophecies of the last twenty-three years to writing ; Baruch was his amanuensis and he also read them to the people in the Temple. The following year Baruch read the roll to the princes, who, on ascertaining that Jeremiah was the author, advised him to go into hiding. Jehoiakim then read the roll and burnt it ; the prophet re-wrote it with a prediction that the king "shall have none to sit upon the throne of David ; and his body shall be cast out in the day to the heat and in the night to the frost," and in this new roll were recorded both the prophecies of the destroyed roll and "many like words" (*c.* 36).

Jeremiah now interceded with Jehovah for the people, but he was convinced of the futility of this intercession, "though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward the people" said God (15¹). And as he watched a potter at work he learned God's determination to destroy Judah, "As the clay in the potter's hand, so is Israel in the hand of Jehovah." He then bought a potter's bottle and broke it symbolically in the presence of the elders of the people and the leading priests. In consequence he was beaten and placed

in the stocks by the governor of the Temple; he retorted that the governor and all Judah would go into captivity in Babylon (18-20⁶). A sense of isolation now overcame the fearless prophet; he complained to God, cursing the day of his birth, "Wherefore came I forth out of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame?" (20⁷⁻¹⁸). It was about this time of depression that his own relatives were plotting his death (11¹⁸⁻²³).

Jeremiah's words were fulfilled, for, instigated by Egypt, Jehoiakim rebelled and Nebuchadnezzar advanced on Jerusalem. The king was saved from an untoward fate by death, and shortly after his son's accession Jerusalem surrendered; the nobles and gentry were taken to exile—the first deportation to Babylon—and amongst them was Ezekiel (597 B.C.). Zedekiah, a nominee of the Chaldean king, was placed on the throne, and during his reign, two political parties sprang up, one advising continued submission to Babylon, the other, which consisted of princes, priests, and false prophets favouring a revolt and an alliance with Egypt and other neighbouring nations. Jeremiah unhesitatingly supported the party of submission; he wore a yoke himself and sent yokes to the ambassadors of the projected revolt who had come to Zedekiah, warning them of the fate that awaited them if they did not put their necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon. Against the malevolent influence of the false prophets he was particularly severe. One of these opportunists contradicted Jeremiah, took the yoke from off the prophet's neck and broke it. Jeremiah reiterated

his warning and foretold the death of the false prophet that same year, a prediction which was fulfilled within two months (*cc.* 27, 28). Though stern in his denunciations to the people, Jeremiah could send messages of comfort and a promise of peace to the exiles in Babylon (*c.* 29).

Jeremiah's policy of submission led to his being execrated as a traitor, but his warnings proved true.

In 588 B.C. Jerusalem was besieged, but fearing an attack by Egypt the Chaldeans temporarily raised the siege (21¹⁻¹⁰, 34⁸⁻²², 37¹⁻¹⁰); taking advantage of this respite Jeremiah left the city on business, and, being suspect, was charged with deserting to the enemy and was imprisoned in a dungeon by the princes whom he had once stigmatised as "bad figs which could not be eaten for they were so bad" (24⁸). When the siege was renewed Zedekiah sent secretly for the prophet, who protested against his imprisonment and predicted the captivity of the king. He was at once released, but at the instigation of four of the princes was placed in a miry cistern where he was in danger of death by starvation. From this awful fate he was released and placed in a guard room (37¹¹, 38). In 586 B.C. Jerusalem fell, the Temple was burned, the walls razed to the ground, the king blinded and with thousands of his people taken into captivity. The Jewish religion now depended for its existence on the exiles in Babylon.

As for Jeremiah he was well treated by the Chaldeans, but was forced to fly with the Jewish survivors into Egypt. Even in that foreign land he continued his warnings, exhorting the refugees to repentance and begging them to forsake the worship of the

"Queen of Heaven" they had begun to practise (cc. 40-44). This was his final prophecy and according to tradition he was stoned to death by the Jewish exiles in Egypt.

Jeremiah's life was thus one of lonely isolation, and it is to this experience of his that we owe his revolutionary conception of individual religion. He was led to realise that religion was not national or corporate but individual, that as he sought communion with God so might all mankind. He was the first prophet to resort habitually to prayer; with Jehovah he was in continual converse. He was the first to whom came the conviction that holiness was the concern of the individual and repentance for sin the need of the individual, that the inner life must be in harmony with the outward. Hence a new covenant of a spiritual nature takes the place of the old covenant at Sinai; it is an everlasting covenant of regeneration and of *grace* (32⁴⁰). The old covenant had failed to produce a right type of religion; its ordinances were a burden, its regulations a snare. The law would now be written on the heart of man.

Jeremiah's chief contribution to religion was personal religion; he saw the power of "grace" in it. Isaiah gave us the concept of faith, and Jeremiah the concept of grace. Hopeless of the present, the prophet looked to the future when Jehovah would be the God of all the families of Israel whom he had loved with an everlasting love. Judah would return to Zion and live under the new covenant; Jerusalem would be extended and all nations would come to a knowledge of Jehovah (c. 31). His work was not a failure for through him Israel

learnt that Jehovah was working His will even through the foes which destroyed the holy city and led the chosen people into exile. The people had complained that they were being punished for the sins of their fathers; "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge" said they, and to them Jeremiah answers, "Every one shall die for his own iniquity: every man that eateth the sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge."

Ezekiel (circ. 592-570).

Among the first band of exiles deported to Babylon in 597 B.C. was Ezekiel. He was a prophet as well as a priest, and he exercised the functions of both. In his vocation as a pastor of souls he kept alive the principles of true religion, bringing the exiles consolation like that of a father and shepherd of a flock, and unlike that of the false prophets who buoyed them up with illusory hopes. Basing his teaching on Jeremiah, he drove home the lessons of personal religion, repentance, and responsibility. To enforce his teaching he used symbols and symbolic language; in his elegies over Judah he compared it to a vine (17¹⁻¹⁰, 19¹⁰⁻¹⁴), to a lioness with her whelps (19¹⁻⁹); in his description of Tyre he represented the mercantile port as a ship; in his comparison of Egypt to a crocodile and of Nebuchadnezzar to an eagle he used suggestive similes. Actions too were used symbolically, as when he refrained from mourning for his wife as a sign of the inexpressible grief the people would feel when news of the fall of Jerusalem would reach them in exile (24¹⁵). It was in this domestic sorrow that he saw the

symbol of the imminent downfall of Jerusalem. His wife was taken ill in the morning, and in the evening of the same day she died. His pastoral work involved the solution of the riddle of the religious belief of the people; they were bowed down with despair and kept quoting the saw, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (18²); they even sank into apathy, "Our transgressions and our sins are upon us, and we pine away in them; how then should we live?" (33¹⁰). To both Ezekiel gave his solution; to the first he retorted, "What mean ye when ye use this proverb? As I live, saith the LORD God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die" (18^{3,4}). He bade them cast away their hopeless creed and to turn from their evil ways, "Make you a new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die?" (18^{31, 32}). For the second problem, he referred them to their history; the nation had been guilty from the days of Egypt; they had always been faithless and ungrateful, their history one of apostasy and rebellion; by punishment only could Jehovah vindicate His honour, it was a necessity, and it fell on every individual for his own sin (33¹⁰⁻²⁰).

He spoke to them as a "son of man," to impress on his hearers the immeasurable distance between the transcendent Jehovah and man.

When in 586 B.C. the holy city was captured by the Chaldeans, Ezekiel changed his attitude; he became the prophet of salvation and strove to com-

fort the exiles with hopes for the future ; a glorious time awaited them in their restoration to Jerusalem, whose name was to be " Jehovah is there " (48³⁵) ; like the dead bones of a valley coming to life, they would rise again not as a nation but as a Church. A horde of nations under Gog and Magog would attack Israel only to meet with defeat (38, 39), and then would finally be established both the new life of Israel as a Church and the honour of Jehovah, Who would dwell among them henceforth. Israel would be a regenerate people, and the individual Israelite would find his true life and the best expression of his personal religion in and through the Church. A purer worship would arise, and a Temple spring up on the ruins of the old one in whose precincts the priests would dwell, teaching the difference between the clean and the unclean, the holy and the profane ; a " prince " too would arise to watch over the Temple, supply its needs and receive the offerings of the people.

This vision of the future exercised a powerful influence on Jewish religion and ultimately evolved Judaism. Gone for ever was the old conception of Jehovah as the God of Israel alone ; the nation had ceased to exist, but Jehovah had been recognised as God of all the nations of the earth. Thus did God teach His people. Judaism had its weak side and in years to come its followers degenerated into a religious caste, but it was Judaism that gave a power of resistance against disintegration and by its very legalism prepared the way for Christ.

The influence of Ezekiel's vision of the future led to the formation of the Priestly School of writers ;

as he had idealised the future, so this school idealised the past, producing their Priestly Code of Laws set in a framework of history. This was not the only school in existence in Babylonia ; the Deuteronomic school was at work, combining the Priestly and Elohist narratives with that of their own. The two schools corresponded with the two aspects of Ezekiel's vocation—the Deuteronomic with his hortatory calling as a shepherd of souls, the Priestly with his prophetic calling as a proclaimer of God's character and His rule in the universe.

Meanwhile Babylon was sinking into decay whilst the Persian Empire was claiming world power. In 538 B.C. Cyrus, king of Persia, captured Babylon and the redemption of Israel from bondage was assured.

The Second Isaiah (circ. 550).

With the rise of the Assyrian Empire are associated the prophets of the eighth century, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah ; with the fall of Assyria and the rise of Babylon, Jeremiah ; and with the Exile, Ezekiel. With the fall of Babylon and the rise of the Persian Empire is associated an unknown prophet whose writings are to be seen in the greater part of cc. 40-66 of our present book of Isaiah. To this anonymous prophet is assigned the name of the Second or Deutero-Isaiah.

His message was one of consolation. Taking up the reassuring words of Ezekiel, he expanded them with a heart overflowing with emotion and sympathy. "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people." Israel would be restored to Jerusalem, God's rule in history

was about to be manifested in the redemption of Israel at the hands of a heathen Persian king. Jehovah was about to vindicate His ethical character and shew Himself not only as the God of comfort, consolation, and love but as the God of righteousness. He would act Himself, not through a Messiah ; He Himself would feed His flock like a shepherd and gather the lambs with His arm and carry them in His bosom. It is here not the Messiah, as Isaiah conceived, who would usher in the age of peace, but Jehovah Himself. Isaiah II. glows with his prophecy of universalism. Such is the conclusion he drew from God's punishment of Israel. The apathy and despair combated by Ezekiel was combated again, partly on the lines adopted by Ezekiel, partly on a fuller grasp of the divine purpose in history. The incomparable and transcendent greatness of Jehovah, His infinite mercy and grace, were displayed in the works of creation. The prophet bade the people look around the heavens and learn the lessons of history—creation displayed the greatness of the creator, the littleness of the idols (*c.*40). If Jehovah were such a God, infinite in greatness and mercy, how could the exiles yield themselves to hopeless despair? Why did God choose Israel? To be His servant and His messenger to all the nations of the earth ; their very blindness and deafness and abasement was the measure of the high destiny that awaited them. "I the LORD have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles ; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners

from the dungeon, and them that sit in the darkness out of the prison house" (42^{6, 7}). He was raising up one from the north to be the instrument whereby this high calling of Israel was to be accomplished (41-44). Why did God punish so heavily? To exalt them, to shew that they had suffered doubly not only for their own sins but for the sins of other nations. Israel was the servant of Jehovah, their sufferings would transfigure them, a glorious vocation awaited them.

Thus did this prophet unfold the majestic destiny of the Chosen Race. But he does not end there. His next step is to personify the race and represent Israel as an individual, proclaiming the consciousness of his mission (49¹⁻¹⁴), and his willingness to obey the call by a life of self-surrender (50⁴⁻¹¹), whatever discouragements and sufferings await him; yea, his own people will cast him off, when they remember his former abasement, when he was without form or comeliness; he will be "despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows," but the people will see that he suffered innocently and vicariously, that he bore their sorrows, that by his stripes they were healed; violence and injustice will be his lot, but he will bear them uncomplainingly; he will be slain and laid in a dishonoured grave but his death will remove sin and through death he will rise to a glorified life. "He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied" (53).

Summary.

With the prophecies of the Second Isaiah the Exile came to an end. From small and mean begin-

nings in the diviners, the mighty prophets of Israel had sprung. Through them God saved the religion of Israel; through them God proclaimed His will and vindicated His moral character; through them His providence in national history and in the lives of individuals was established; through them the nation became a Church. They were His mouthpiece and were commissioned to speak in His name; and their spiritual vision saw into the future and beheld the Kingdom of God and the figure of the King. They prepared the way for Christ, the Prophet of Salvation, the King of Righteousness who lives and reigns in His Church. The Day of Judgment dawned when the Prince of Peace was born.

Prophecy and prediction.

The main work of prophecy was to proclaim the will and sovereignty of Jehovah, though in the popular mind it is assumed that its real work was to predict the future. The prophets consciously claimed to possess the power of prediction and in many cases their forecast was correct, but the power, as we shall see, was limited.

The ability to forecast was claimed both by the earlier and later prophets. Ahijah predicted the death of the son of Jeroboam (I K. 14¹⁻¹⁸), Micaiah the defeat of Israel and the death of Ahab (I K. 22¹⁷⁻²⁰), Elijah the drought (I K. 17¹) and the death of Ahaziah (2 K. 1⁶⁻⁹). Isaiah gave Ahaz the sign of Immanuel, predicted the failure of the coalition of Israel and Syria against Judah (Is. 7), and the invulnerability of Jerusalem; Amos declared that the day of Jehovah would be darkness and not light, and that the children

of Israel would go into captivity beyond Damascus and the Syrians to Kir (5^{27} , 1^5 , 2 K. 16^9); Jeremiah foresaw that Jerusalem would fall and the people be led into captivity in Babylon; Jeremiah and Ezekiel also predicted the restoration of the exiles (Jer. 25^{11} Ez. 46). Many of the prophets foretold the imminence of a Messianic Age and the advent of a Messiah.

This ability however had its limitations; many of the conclusions were those drawn from history and were the logical consequences of the advancing power, first of Assyria and of Babylon. In many instances the prophecies were only fulfilled in their broad aspects, *e.g.* Isaiah, whilst he predicted that Judah would regain its freedom after Assyria had declined, was ignorant of the disaster which was to befall that country at the hands of Babylon; Jerusalem did not fall before Assyria as he foresaw, but its permanent inviolability was contradicted by the event; the same prophet again forecasted that Babylon would be captured by the Medes, but this was not by storm as he described (13^{17}); again Damascus was not finally destroyed by Assyria (17^{1-3}). The Jewish exiles did not return as Ezekiel and Isaiah II. predicted, whilst 700 years, and not a few score years as foretold, elapsed before the birth of the expected Messiah and the inauguration of the Kingdom of God.

Thus the predictions of the prophets were not uniformly fulfilled to the very letter; the manner in which certain events were to happen was often falsified; their anticipations did not always correspond with the events. Yet we must recognise

in them the possession of a limited power, a qualified prescience, by which they strove to interpret Jehovah's purposes in history. The power of prediction was like a two-edged sword; if successful, it served to substantiate their moral and spiritual teaching; if unrealised, it led the people into depths of despair and to questioning the interest and love of Jehovah.

CHAPTER IV

SACRIFICE AND PRIESTHOOD

SACRIFICE may be defined as an act of worship in which communion is effected with the deity by means of a material oblation consumed on an altar.

In the very earliest times sacrifice originated in a desire to please the deity by giving or sharing in a meal, called the sacramental meal; an animal was first slain on the altar, the blood was devoted to the deity by being poured on the altar or smeared on the sacred stone which was his dwelling place, and the flesh was eaten by the worshippers. The sharing in this common meal implied that the deity was of one kin with the worshippers, who were bound together to him by a covenant, and by the meal the individuals were brought into personal relationship with the deity and the covenant bond maintained.

As in our previous studies, so in this, the history of sacrifices and the priesthood has to be constructed from the statements of schools of writers, each of whom desired to enforce a view of history by projecting the present into the past. For example, in the Priestly writings, no sacrifice or priesthood existed before the time of Moses and Aaron, whereas in the Jehovist writings sacrifices and altars are

stated to have existed from the times of Cain and Abel and the Flood. The whole subject is admittedly difficult, but from a study of primitive religions and from the knowledge that old customs are referred to or inserted in the records of the literary schools, we may arrive at a fairly approximate history of both sacrifice and priesthood.

In patriarchal times the original sacramental meal had developed into the burnt and peace offerings (Gen. 22¹³, 31⁵⁴). In the burnt sacrifice the offering (which was not a human life, Gen. 22) was wholly consumed by fire, and was looked upon as a gift with which the deity would be placated; the more costly the gift, the more valuable the offering, and hence the practice of offering the first-born son; in the burnt sacrifice the idea of the sacrament had vanished; there was a sense of fear and a desire to win the deity's favour. The burnt sacrifice, however, was not uniformly offered. On the other hand, the peace offering continued the intention of the sacramental meal, for in it the fat and entrails were consumed by fire upon the altar, and the flesh was eaten by the offerer and his friends at the meal, *i.e.* the Deity received His portion and the worshippers shared the remainder (Gen. 18¹⁻⁸, 31⁵⁴).

There was no special or professional priesthood; the sacrifices were offered up by the patriarchs or heads of families.

The burnt and peace offerings continued long in history and were sometimes combined, when on special occasions the feeling of awe was united with that of joy, as in the wilderness when the ratifying of the covenant was effected. The symbolism

described in Ex. 24¹⁻¹¹ is striking. Moses built an altar and sent young men of the children of Israel to offer burnt offerings and peace offerings; oxen were wholly consumed, half of the blood was sprinkled on the altar and thereby consecrated to God, and the rest sprinkled on the people with the words, "Behold the blood of the covenant." This dual sprinkling was a sign that Jehovah was joining with His people in a bond of blood. The sacrifice was followed by a sacred meal in which communion with God was maintained, the sharers being said to "eat before God" or "to eat bread before God." Other instances of the combination of the two sacrifices are to be seen in 1 S. 10⁸ (Samuel's choice of Saul as king), 1 S. 13⁹ (Saul in war against the Philistines), 2 S. 6¹⁷ (David takes the ark to Jerusalem), 1 K. 3¹⁵ (Solomon's vision at Gibeon), 1 K. 8^{63,64} (after the dedication of the Temple).

Whilst the burnt sacrifice was still observed, at moments of great solemnity, when some evil or danger had to be warded off (Jg. 13¹⁶, 6²⁶, 1 S. 7⁹), the peace offering was the popular act of worship as being associated with joyful events in national or individual life; the latter were occasions of feasts and were made at local sanctuaries, as when Saul was made king at Gilgal (1 S. 11¹⁵), and when Adonijah claimed the throne (1 K. 1¹⁹); Elkanah went up yearly to present his thankoffering; a visit of a friend, *e.g.* when Samuel visited Jesse to anoint David, or the entering on a new career such as the call of Elisha by Elijah (1 K. 19²¹), were occasions of joy.

It will be noticed that, as a general rule, the sacrifices were offered by laymen, but from the time of

the sojourn at Sinai a professional body of priests existed who were in charge of the Ark. They are said to have been instituted by Moses as a reward to the tribe of Levi for their zeal in the matter of the golden calf (Ex. 32²⁶⁻²⁹). This does not mean that the "sons of Levi" alone exercised priestly functions, since Moses himself was in charge of the priestly oracle, which was the main function of the priesthood. The term "sons of Levi" was, it would seem, the title of those who were trained to be priests, probably chosen from families of the tribe of Judah (Jg. 17⁷, 19¹), with whom Levi was closely associated. It was an advantage to have a Levite as a professional priest, as Micah realised, but all sanctuaries could not have Levites for priests for they were not sufficiently numerous. Priests were called "fathers" (Jg. 17¹⁰, 18¹⁹), wore the linen Ephod, lived probably at the sanctuaries, were maintained by offerings made to them (1 S. 2¹³) or were paid a salary (Jg. 17¹⁰).

Sacrifice was not the exclusive duty of the priests, nor was it their prerogative. The Levitical priesthood of the Priestly Code is not known or recognised; Samuel an Ephraimite, Gideon a Manassite, Manoah a Danite, Saul a Benjamite, offer sacrifice. Micah an Ephraimite made his son a priest (Jg. 17⁵). David himself wears the priestly garb, the linen Ephod, blesses the people and makes his own sons priests; Jeroboam appoints priests other than from the tribe of Levi to preserve the worship of Jehovah, and at Bethel he himself ascends the altar and makes offerings. (See also 2 K. 16¹².)

In fact for centuries the main duty of the priests was not to offer sacrifice but to give oral judgments

and to be the oracle of Jehovah (D. 33⁹⁻¹⁰). Legal judgments were sacred in olden days, for the judge was the representative of God; in the scene in Ex. 18¹³⁻²³ Moses is depicted sitting to judge the people, and on Jethro's advice he appoints able men such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain, to judge minor cases. This was the institution of the oral priestly *torah*, but the term "torah" was also applied to the oracle of Jehovah which was obtained by lot, the procedure of which is described in 1 S. 23¹⁰⁻¹¹, where we are told that David enquired of the LORD, which is the O.T. formula for consulting the oracle; the answer, either "Yes" or "No," depended on the casting of the lots Urim or Thummim, which were probably sacred stones.

From the time of the settlement in Canaan, the Israelites were guided by the Book of the Covenant, and according to its injunctions they observed the weekly sabbath and the three agricultural festivals of Unleavened Bread, Harvest, and Ingathering, at which first fruits were offered as an acknowledgment of God's goodness. There was very little religious life, the fundamental cause of which lay in the old idea that God's providence was extended less to the individual but more to the nation. This idea affected the Jewish conception of atonement, which was only reparation for wrong doing, and their conception of the future life, which was gloomy and hopeless. The individual therefore found consolation in consulting soothsayers and wizards, or even the dead.

But with the Deuteronomic Code entering the life of the inhabitants of Judah early in the seventh

century, there were great changes. All Levites became priests and no other priests were to be found than those of the tribe of Levi ; they were encountered not only in Jerusalem but throughout the kingdom. When they came to the capital, the code allowed them to exercise priestly functions there, but Zadok would not allow them this privilege. The lay priests disappeared and the Levite priests had their functions defined. They were to offer sacrifices, "to stand before Jehovah," that is, to serve Jehovah, to give judicial decisions as of old, to pronounce the blessing (D. 10⁸, 21⁵), and to encourage the people before battle (20²). They had no settled abode and no inheritance in their land (18³, 4) ; they were to live by their office and on offerings made to them (12¹², 18). The creation of a royal sanctuary gave a cachet to the priests in Jerusalem, but they were appointed and deposed by the kings ; David appointed Abiathar and Solomon Zadok, whose house held the priesthood up to the time of the exile. Jerusalem, from the mere circumstance that the Temple was the sanctuary of the royal house, though a private one, naturally gained both in dignity and influence, and its chief priest held a recognised position, though it carried little weight beyond the city.

The new code made only one change in regard to the observance of the Seasons, in that the three pilgrimage feasts were in future to be observed at the central sanctuary ; fuller details were given of the offerings to be made at the feasts, and the Passover was connected with the feast of unleavened bread (D. 16¹⁻⁸). The restriction of these feasts to Jerusalem was a blow to national feeling, for it

severed the connection of the feasts with the agricultural life of the people and robbed them of some of the joyousness of life, since only at feasts were animals sacrificed and meat eaten by the people. The slaughter of an animal had been a religious sacramental act, which now it ceased to be. On the other hand, the regulation was helpful, since it destroyed the primitive idea of a physical kinship between the Deity and the people and checked any tendency to animal idolatry (D. 12). Deuteronomy aimed at making joy wear a more spiritual garb (12^{7, 12}).

These were the regulations for sacrifice and priesthood until the downfall of Jerusalem. But with the return from the exile Ezekiel's vision of the future began to bear fruit and Judaism came to birth. A high priest appeared (Hag. 1^{1, 12, 14}, Zech. 3¹) and with him a great elaboration of ceremonial observance both in the number of the sacred feasts and in the duties of the priesthood; a wide divergence was made between the priesthood and the Levites who were not priests; there was a marked difference in the maintenance of the sacred orders, and the observance of the great day of Atonement was strictly enjoined. The Priestly Code began the era of an ordered and regulated ecclesiastical rule; the nation had ceased to be, but the congregation had taken its place. There is no need to dwell on the details, which are fully described in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, except to note that whilst in the Deuteronomic code the position of the Levites was somewhat degraded, in the new code it is represented as honourable, and that the idea of atonement was made very prominent.

Two new offerings were added—the Sin and Guilt Offerings. Their significance lay in the idea of atonement for sins committed and for ceremonial uncleanness; the distinctive part in the ritual was the atoning blood of the animal which was dedicated and slain by the offerer; it was an animal without blemish, typical of the sinless life which God accepted in place of the offerer's sinful life. Priest and layman each had his prescribed part in these sacrifices, the central act of which, the manipulation of the blood, was the duty of the priest, who alone could approach the altar. The culmination of sacrificial worship was in the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16). The special garb of the High Priest, his entrance into the Holy of Holies on this and no other day, the sprinkling of blood on the mercy seat, the purification of the Holy Place and the altar of burnt offering and the outer sanctuary, the loosing into the wilderness of the goat upon which the lot had fallen for Azazel, a mysterious demon which haunted the wilderness, all lent an impressive significance. Thrice did the High Priest enter the Holy of Holies, once with his hands full of incense, a second time with the blood of his sin offering, a third time with the blood of the sin offering of the people. It was only after atonement had been made through the offerings for sin that the High Priest resumed his high priestly vestments and dedicated himself and the people to whole-hearted devotion to God by offering the burnt sacrifices.

The typical significance of this great day is brought out for us in the Epistle of the Hebrews.

CHAPTER V

THE POETICAL BOOKS

BOTH Poetry and Prose serve as means of conveying spiritual truth ; they are related to one another as female to male ; they were both, in no unusual sense, created by God to serve His purpose of preparing the world for the Word, His Son.

All extant records of old Hebrew poetry are to be found in the O.T., and our concern is not with the form and structure of poetry but with its purpose and value. There is no dramatic poetry in the O.T. ; the *Song of Songs* and *Job* might be dramatically treated, although the former is a compilation of the marriage songs of a newly wedded couple, and the latter a dialogue. Hebrew poetry is essentially lyric, that is, it expresses the writer's own thoughts and sentiments ; proverbial poetry is a branch of the lyric.

The poetry of the O.T. is older than the prose, for when events had to be transmitted orally it was easier and more efficacious to do it in poetic form. Songs served to preserve national history ; some were distinctly secular, as the Song of Lamech (Gen. 4^{23, 24}), the Song of the Well (Num. 21¹⁷⁻¹⁸), the Song

of Exultation over Moab (Num. 21²⁷⁻³⁰), the Song of Samson (Jg. 15¹⁶), and the Song of Greeting (1 S. 18⁷); some were songs of victory and confidence in Jehovah the God of War, as the Song of Deborah; of some we only have remnants, such as the single verse of the Song at the Crossing of the Red Sea (Ex. 15²¹), and the Songs of Greeting and of Samson just referred to.

Song formed part of the life of the nation, and women sang the war songs. The rich, complains Amos in the eighth century B.C., improvise idle songs to the sound of the harp and devise for themselves instruments of music (6⁵); the guitar, the harp, tambourine, and flute, with wine, constitute their banquet, says Isaiah (5¹²); even in the vineyards songs were sung (Num. 21¹⁷). Wedding feasts were marked by songs (Ps. 45); David made laments for the death of Saul and Jonathan and of Abner in dirges of exquisite beauty, though the religious spirit is strangely absent from them.

Gradually songs were collected into books about the time that prose records were first compiled; war songs were gathered in the Book of the Wars of Jehovah and included with dirges in the Book of Jashar (Josh. 10¹³, 2 S. 1¹⁸); the greatest of these collections was the Psalter.

The Psalter is unrivalled for its lyrical poetry; in its godward lyrics of the soul we find expressed man's deepest desire for communion with God and man's great consolation in an age unfortified by the hope of resurrection. Divided by doxologies into five books (41¹³, 72¹⁸⁻¹⁹, 89⁵², 106⁴⁸) which roughly mark the stages of growth, the Psalter belongs to the

religion of the O.T. rather than of the N.T. In the worship of the Temple the Psalms formed a part ; they were sung during pilgrimages to Jerusalem (Ps. 120-134) ; special psalms were appointed for special occasions, as Ps. 92 for the Sabbath Day and Ps. 30 at the Dedication ; musical directions were inserted such as *Selah*, which was probably intended to call on the musicians to strike up their interlude. They were given titles to indicate the original collection from which they were drawn as a Psalm of David, that is, a Psalm from a collection bearing David's name and illustrating incidents in his life ; many of its compositions were the work of the Sweet Psalmist of Israel. A Psalm of Asaph similarly meant that it was from a collection bearing the name of one of David's chief musicians, which collection included Psalms referring to events of the Exile (*cf.* Ps. 79, 80).

The Psalms included in the Psalter were composed between the time of David and the century before Christ. They clearly reflect Jewish spiritual thought and aspirations, and the inner eye of man may see in them the historical, the prophetic, and the legal development of national life. But they can be and are adapted almost wholly by the Christian from the Christian standpoint ; the Jew was climbing the mountain slopes, we have reached the summit. It is because the Psalms are primarily the expression of the beliefs of past ages that the Christian finds it difficult to adapt all the Psalms to his standpoint. The Jew might and could sing of the hopelessness of the life beyond the grave (see pp. 154-157), but it is felt that it is wrong and irreligious for a Christian

to give utterance to such thoughts as, "For in death no man remembereth thee and who will give thee thanks in the pit" (6⁵). An even greater demand is however made on him in the "Imprecatory" Psalms (*e.g.* 79, 109) which might be natural and real to a Jew but are in use unnatural and terrible to a Christian. Historically they are examples of that idea of corporate responsibility which in every sphere of life and thought was a hindrance to progress, but the Christian asks, "Is that any reason why they should be included in Christian worship?" But whilst the answer could be readily given, yet if once the surgeon's knife is applied to the sore of the Imprecatory verses to which attention is generally called, it could not rightly be withheld from other O.T. ideas such as the future life, animal sacrifices, unhistorical and legendary events referred to, etc.

Religious poetry moreover has its value in preserving for us the aspirations and spiritual longings of the soul of the Jew, and these are for us to-day the same as in the days of old; the longing remains unaltered, though the conceptions of God have changed. The War Songs of the Psalter have replaced those of ancient collections; its marriage songs supply more spiritual fervour than the *Song of Songs*; and in its compass there are Psalms looking forward to an unbroken communion of man with God. Our LORD used these Psalms, sang the Hallel at the Last Supper (Ps. 113-118), and on the Cross He found in them a solace; in them we find the Messianic hope in its varied aspects; that which the Psalms, through the inspiration of the Spirit, prefigured circum-

stantially found its fulfilment in the Person of Him who was the Kingly and the Suffering Messiah.

Wisdom literature.

After the return from the Exile, the study and exposition of the Law became the principal duty of a professional class known as "the scribes," whilst the teaching of morality and enquiries into the practical problems of life were undertaken by "wise men" who were in existence in the time of Jeremiah (18¹⁸). The literature they produced is known as the Wisdom Literature, and of this we have three examples in the O.T.—*Proverbs*, *Job*, *Ecclesiastes*: by them religious customs and beliefs were taken for granted, and by them the moral conditions of worship were considered, but their main concern was with the practical questions of life and conduct based on the fundamental idea of the fear of God. By the very nature of the contents of their writings, their view was as world-wide as mankind and they recognised that wisdom was not confined to the Jewish race. Their literature therefore was a connecting link between the religion of Israel and the best moral teaching of other nations.

In earliest times wisdom consisted of riddles, parables, and proverbs (Jg. 9⁸⁻¹⁵, 2 S. 12¹⁻⁶, Ezek. 18²). Now proverbs are common to all periods of history, but their collection would not be made till a national literature had been begun; and the Book of Proverbs by its various headings shews that it is a collection formed of sayings, many of which are reminiscences of Solomon (1 K. 4³²). In *Proverbs*, the introduction (cc. 1-7) is cast into the form of advice given by a

father to his son, and wisdom, personified, also speaks, inviting men to her banquet and warning them against folly. The main section (10-22), called the Proverbs of Solomon, consists of complete proverbs in couplets, whilst the rest of the book is made up of "the words of the wise," extra "proverbs of Solomon," and lastly three appendices, which include a poem in praise of the virtuous wife.

The theme of *Job* is the problem of suffering. Was suffering a punishment for sin? The misfortunes of Job, a righteous man (cc. 1-2), are discussed between him and three friends, who can give him no help in his sorrow and are therefore reproached by him. They then state the popular view that Job's sufferings were the due reward of sin. Job cannot subscribe to their view and appeals to God to prove his innocence. At this juncture Elihu, a bystander, takes up the argument and declaims against the old idea; suffering is not a punishment but a means of educating character; to recognise this is to gain blessing, to deny it is the path to sin. Here Jehovah intervenes; He does not argue, but in a series of pictures there is a display of His power, wisdom and providence (38-42). Job is overwhelmed, for if he cannot understand the power of God in nature how can he probe the secrets of God's moral government.

The Epilogue describes Job's restoration to health and to a greater prosperity than before.

Ecclesiastes is a survey of life, attributed in the literary manner of the day to Solomon. In its original form it was pessimistic, life was not worth living, all was vanity; live therefore for the best (5¹⁸⁻²⁰). Later editors gave it a more cheerful and

religious tone by adding 8¹¹⁻¹³, 12⁹⁻¹⁴, and hence its reception into the Canon.

In the Wisdom Literature therefore there is a philosophy of human conduct, the problems of which could only be solved by Him who was the Word; it prepared the way for Christ by its universal assumption that righteousness in every nation is acceptable to Jehovah (Acts 10³⁵); it pointed to Christ in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Eph. 1⁸, 3⁸, Col. 2³); it set forth morality as essential to right worship, "they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth" (Jn. 4²⁴).

Apocalyptic.

With the advent of Ezra and the scribes the Law became supreme in the religious life of the Jewish people; the Law alone was the final and authoritative word of God. There was no justification for any further literary output which was not explanatory of the Law. But a way was found through the hedge; books were published and the names of heroes of the past were assigned to them and a pseudonymous literature emerged which made its contribution to the preparation of the world for Christ. This literature was apocalyptic, which means revealing. The apocalyptists were revealers, just as the prophets whose place they took revealed the will and character of God. Each learnt by communion with God, each looked into the future; each had a doctrine of the last things (eschatology), such as the life after death, the Messianic age, the Judgment, but with these differences:

- (i) That whilst prophetic eschatology could not look beyond the grave, apocalyptic looked for a new heaven and a new earth, to a blessed future life.
- (ii) Whilst the prophets looked to a Messianic kingdom in this present world, the apocalyptists looked forward to an eternal spiritual kingdom.
- (iii) Whilst the prophets looked to the present and the future and incidentally to the past, the apocalyptists brought the present, past and future into view as a whole, and presented the progress of history as a complete and undivided unity.
- (iv) And lastly the apocalyptists formulated a new doctrine, that the end of this world would be catastrophic.

Apocalyptic may be seen emerging in the prophetic books, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Joel and Zechariah, but the best example of a complete work is that of *Daniel*, to whom a writer living at a later age attributed his book. It was written about 168 B.C., in the time of Judas Maccabeus, whose history is given in I Maccabees, cc. 3-9, and when a persecution against the Jews was raging (12⁴⁻¹³); the writer had in view not Babylon but Palestine. He was in great anxiety for the people who were suffering not for their sins but for their religion. Where was the Messianic kingdom promised by the prophets? Four empires had swayed the fortunes of the Jews, the Chaldean, the Median, the Persian, the Greek; would the kingdom never come? And in the

familiar and beautiful stories of Dan. 1-6 the writer gave his answer. The Messianic kingdom would come; as the stone cut without hands destroyed the image of four different metals which were the four empires, so the kingdom of the Messiah would destroy them and stand for ever.

The book gives in symbolic style the history of the period in which it was written, cast into such a form that a hero of the past is represented as depicting the history of the present. But the main apocalyptic part of the book is that of cc. 7-12, which describes Daniel's vision. Under the form of four beasts are represented the four kingdoms; they will be destroyed and then "the people of the saints of the Most High" will receive power over the world; the people were to wait and hope; the seventy years of Jeremiah means seventy weeks of years or 490 years, and the fulfilment will take place when the present scourge and oppressor, Antiochus Epiphanes, has been destroyed. His death will be followed by the resurrection of the Israelites and the advent of the Messianic age (12¹⁻³).

The apocalyptists thus helped to transform Jewish thought; the future was seen to be full of hope and not devoid of all hope. The diviners, the prophets, the wise men, and the apocalyptists form an unbroken chain between the beginnings of the revelation of God and the culmination in Christ.

CHAPTER VI

THE MESSIANIC HOPE

The Messiah. The hope of a Messiah grew up under the influence of the beliefs and experiences of Israel, conditioned by their conception of God and limited by their grasp of the events of history. And in the general growth of this branch of the Messianic hope we may see the good hand of God using the thoughts, knowledge, and beliefs of the times to subserve a high purpose and in gradual stages to prepare the world for the coming of Him who was to be the Saviour of the world.

The basis of the hope was the unalterable conviction of Israel that they were the chosen people of God, and that He would be true to His covenant. How the people were trained through suffering and exile to look forward to a glorious destiny we have already seen. It was the divine intuition of prophets and apocalyptists which enabled them to see into the future through a glass darkly, but they did see that which others through blindness could not see. They saw only in part and hence in Christ there was no literal fulfilment of every detail of the Messianic hope, but a spiritual fulfilment of the great ideas which they were able to express.

Hopes had existed before the era of the first canonical prophets, that is before the eighth century. There was current among the people a belief that the seed of the first woman should bruise the head of the serpent; it was a vague belief implying no personality but the promise that man would triumph over sin and evil which the serpent personified; there was also a belief that through them as the chosen people of God, the descendants of Abraham, the nations of the world should be blessed (Gen. 22^{17, 18}); and in the days of Judah's supremacy in the house of David the belief existed that it was Judah from whom the sceptre was not to depart nor the ruler's staff from between his feet "until Shiloh come"—that is, "until he came whose right it is"—a simple oracular form which probably signified the dynasty of David. Again, the oracles of Balaam which represent the consciousness of nationality which was awakened by David's empire, using the common eastern imagery of a star for the king, hinted at an individual to come forth as "a star out of Jacob and a sceptre out of Israel" who was to smite through the corners of Moab—and it was David who first subdued Moab (2 S. 8²).

The last two instances shew us what influence the reign of David exercised on the minds and hopes of the nation. Popular belief was focussed by Nathan and was reflected in the Psalms (2, 45, 72, 89, 110); David is the anointed one, the Messiah; David's house will endure for ever; it was not for him to build a Temple for Jehovah but a house of greater significance, a dynasty, shall be built by Jehovah, who will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever.

Further, Divine sonship is bestowed on David; "I will be his father and he shall be my son" said Jehovah.

The figure of David and the glory of his house became the theme of prophets and the hope of a nation which, after reaching the zenith of prosperity, was declining towards the nadir of destruction. Whence was hope to come in the dark days of the spectre of Assyrian imperialism? It was through the restoration of David's line, not the advent of some special king—"On that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen" (Amos 9¹¹). On the eve of the struggle with Assyria the predictions became clearer. Isaiah foresaw the advent of a king; a child "Immanuel" would be born of a maiden. He was more than a sign or pledge to king Ahaz, He was the Messianic prince of David's line, "the wonder of a counsellor, God-mighty one, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace," whose kingdom would be an era of universal peace (Is. 7, 9, 11). Micah following on the lines of Isaiah predicted the birthplace of the Davidic Messiah to be "Bethlehem Ephratah which art little among the thousands of Judah" (5²). (See Psalms 2, 18, 20, 45, 61, 72, 110.)

Isaiah's prophecies were followed by a reaction. Manasseh's idolatrous and inglorious reign caused the hopes of a Messiah to suffer temporary eclipse, but with Josiah hopes revived. A prophet would be raised up like unto Moses (Deut. 18¹⁵), and expectations were fixed on "kings and princes sitting upon the throne of David" symbolised as a "Branch of righteousness" (Jer. 17²⁵, 22⁴, 33¹⁵). The ideal was once again made obscure when Josiah was succeeded

by weak puppet kings, and with the exile the hope of a Davidic king or line of kings ceased. No king after Hezekiah fulfilled the nation's aspirations or the conditions of a Messiah, and centuries were to elapse before their fulfilment in Jesus who was born of the tribe and lineage of David in David's royal city. To Him the attributes bestowed by Isaiah rightly apply; Galilee was the scene of the most of His ministry (Is. 9), and through Him the knowledge of Jehovah was proclaimed to all the nations. The prophecies were not wholly fulfilled, being restricted and envisaged by the conditions and thoughts of the age; the Messianic age was expected to come in the near future with the fall of Assyria; the expectations of the future were confined to this world, the kingdom was to be on earth, its centre was to be Jerusalem; but of the general conception of the age of the Messiah there was a remarkable fulfilment.

A second conception of the Messianic Hope was the "Day of Jehovah," which to the popular mind was to be the day of signal victory over all foes. As we have seen, the prophets preached against the delusion, warning the nation that the day would be marked by terrifying convulsions of nature and by a judgment against all that was "proud and lofty," when idolatry would be utterly abolished and men seek refuge in caves and holes and in clefts of rocks. But the terror was to be followed by a glorious age when the faithful and holy would inherit its joys and glories. Here we see that Jehovah Himself and not a prince of David's line was to manifest Himself as Israel's Judge and Redeemer.

The expectation of "The Day" held sway after the return from the Exile (Malachi 4^{1, 2, 5}), but a third and new conception was begotten as a result of the sufferings of the pious remnant. It was that of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah bearing the sins of many, despised, rejected and scorned, and meeting with an inglorious death, but passing from it to a glorified life. The new Israel was to be restored and sanctified by the presence of Jehovah; to Jerusalem were to flock all nations, for she would be the spiritual metropolis of the world. The Suffering Servant is by Isaiah II. never connected with the Messiah; in fact that was the chief stumbling-block to the Jews, and even the disciples of our Lord could not conceive of the Messiah as the Sufferer. (See Psalms 22, 35, 41, 69.)

Hence we have three conceptions (1) of a Messianic king of the tribe of David, (2) of Jehovah as personally ruling the restored Israel, and (3) of the Suffering Servant, which were never combined. The conclusion that one who was both Divine and Human might be the Messiah was not drawn.

Lastly, with the Exile the figure of the king became subsidiary to that of the priest. In the vision of Ezekiel, the prince was subject to the priest, and on the return to Jerusalem the prince, in the person of Zerub-babel, and the priest, in the person of Joshua, were joint rulers of the theocracy. Yet in Ps. 110 prophecy rose to a sublime height; the monarch himself was the priest of the nation, and he who sits at the right hand of Jehovah was the priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.

The way was prepared for Christ. Kings and priests

and prophets had been anointed, and Messiah means "the anointed one." He was "the prophet like unto Moses," revealing truth and working miracles. He in heaven exercises a heavenly priesthood and as king is seated on the right hand of God. He gave a new character to prophetic conceptions by uniting all their ideals and linking them in Himself, and when, after His Resurrection and Ascension men turned to the Scriptures, then they saw clearly what had been discerned imperfectly, that in Him the elements foreshadowed in the Old Testament found their complete ideal.

The Future Life. Extreme importance was attached by the Hebrews to burial. Jacob on his death charges his sons, "Bury me with my fathers in the cave in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought"; Joseph takes an oath of the Children of Israel, "God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence." To be unburied was a dishonour, to be "cast forth away from the sepulchre" was "to go down to the stones of the pit," and was the judgment of God on an evil life (Is. 14¹⁻²²). A right burial was held to be the reward and witness of a righteous life on earth; virtue was rewarded and evil punished in this world; the manner, too, of their death, showed the character of the deceased (Ps. 73¹⁹, 89⁴⁸). There was no hope of a resurrection; any real future centred in the children; for them a man lived and they would keep his name in remembrance; to die childless was annihilation, and the childless Absalom built a memorial to perpetuate his name (2 S. 18¹⁸).

The place of the departed was called Sheol, and the grave was the entrance to it; beneath the earth it

lay, "beneath the waters and the inhabitants thereof" (Job 26⁵), a land of darkness where all things were forgotten. The dead praised not the LORD, neither any that went down to silence; only the living praised Him (Ps. 30⁹, 88¹⁰⁻¹², Job 10²⁰⁻²², Is. 38¹⁸); and, most terrible thought to a Jew in death, there was no communion with God, no remembrance of Him (Ps. 6⁵). To Sheol the dead went and were no more seen; from it there was no return and no morning after the night, "As a cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more." The dead were simply ghosts, passing a shadowy hopeless existence in gloom; there was no activity for them, and in fact the dead man "was not." "God's faithfulness and loving-kindness was not declared in Abaddon; His wonders not known in the Darkness, nor His righteousness in Oblivion." In this land of despair all were to be found, the righteous and the wicked. There the wicked ceased from troubling and the weary were at rest; there every man joined his forefathers.

Such a creed was the natural outcome of the Jewish conception of corporate responsibility; it was the nation that Jehovah cared for, that He had chosen; it was the nation, not the individual, that would survive the catastrophes of their history. No advance was possible until the thought had dawned on the Jewish mind that God loved the individual, and that each soul might have direct communion with God—a truth first perceived by Jeremiah and developed by Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah, but not applied by them to the life after death.

There was another problem which pointed the

way to happier thoughts. It was the problem of suffering. The nation had been exiled, and God had severely punished them. The Jewish belief, credible in the glorious days of the monarchy, was not credible now; the righteous were no longer rewarded, the wicked no longer punished. Was there no solution of this enigma? The problem was approached from two sides—by individual Psalmists, who asked, "Why were the wicked rewarded?" and by Job, who asked, "Why were the righteous punished?"

The Psalms which refer to the Resurrection hope are 16, 17, 37, 49, 73. Wealth is transitory, and in the end the righteous will be rewarded and the wicked punished; communion with God, once thought to be destroyed by death, cannot be broken; trust in the LORD and wait patiently for Him; the wicked are appointed as a flock for Sheol and perish, but for the righteous there is hope. The upright have dominion over the wicked in the morning of a new future life; God will redeem his soul from the hand of Sheol, for He shall take him away from its power (16¹¹, 49¹⁴⁻¹⁵, 73²³⁻²⁶). One of the Psalmists went further in his belief, "Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel and afterwards receive me to glory."

The stages of the struggle may be seen in Job. He begins by unfolding the monotonous, gloomy, shadowy condition of the life after death; he longs for some solution of his troubles and some hope to enable him to bear his sorrow. As the first shock of his troubles spends its force, so his mind begins to grapple with the problem. He desires some future hope, he demands it, and would like to believe in it;

he puts forward its possibility, but it seems incredible to him.

“ Oh that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol,
That thou wouldest keep me secret, until
thy wrath be past,
That thou wouldest appoint me a set time,
and remember me !
If a man die, shall he live *again* ?
All the days of my warfare would I wait,
Till my release should come ” (14¹³⁻¹⁵).

The possibility haunts him, and to it he soon begins to cling, and at last fights his way to a triumphant conclusion.

“ I know that my redeemer liveth,
And that he shall stand up at the last upon
the earth :
And after my skin hath been thus destroyed,
Yet from my flesh shall I see God ” (19²⁵⁻²⁶).

Thus the doctrine of a future life began to grow. It was the pious hope of many an individual, but not an article of faith. Wider thoughts and larger hopes were begotten “ between the Old and New Testaments ” ; there would be a final judgment, a resurrection from the dead, perhaps of the righteous only, perhaps of all Israel (Dan. 12¹⁻³), perhaps of all mankind. It was not till our LORD came that the Resurrection became an article of faith. He “ abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel ” (2 Tim. 1¹⁰).

CHAPTER VII

THE CANON OF THE O.T.

IN the Hebrew Bible the Books are arranged as follows. (See Lk. 24⁴⁴.)

1. THE LAW. Identical with our Pentateuch.

2. THE PROPHETS.

(i) The Former Prophets in four books ;
Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings.

(ii) The Latter Prophets in four books ;
Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the
Minor Prophets.

3. The WRITINGS.

(i) The Poetical Books ; Psalms, Proverbs,
Job.

(ii) The Five Rolls ; Song of Songs, Ruth,
Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther.

(iii) Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.

In the chapter on Literature we have considered how collections were made and sources combined to form the books of the Old Testament as we know them. We proceed now to trace the stages by which these

books became authoritative and Biblical, that is, canonical ; we are not concerned with the dates when they were written, but with the time when they were accepted as inspired. Further, other books existed besides those mentioned in the Canon, and the choice of a book and its canonisation depended on whether they were considered to be inspired or not.

We have had occasion to speak of the discovery of a Law Book in the reign of Josiah in 621 B.C. ; it was a single roll quickly read through, and the reforms which were based on the roll are all to be found in Deuteronomy and nowhere else. We therefore confidently conclude that this Book of the Law was contained in Deuteronomy ; but it was not the whole of Deuteronomy. For the first time in Jewish history the people were under the authority of a book of law ; its acceptance was immediate, and in the authority assigned to it we see the beginning of the Hebrew Canon. The secret power of this D-ic code lay in its hortatory character ; and the school that produced it continued its labours well into the exile to Babylon, worked on the traditional history (JE) and compiled and edited a history written from their standpoint, impressed by their spirit, parenetic or persuasive in character, giving the fall of history of the chosen people from the Creation to the Jerusalem in 586 B.C. This D-ic edition consisted of JE and D, an edition of Joshua, Samuel and Kings almost in its present form.

Meanwhile, at Babylon another literary school, the Priestly, was producing a Priestly Law Book, in which were preserved the teaching and traditions of the priests and which was set in a framework of history.

When the Jews returned from exile the D-ic code was still their law-book ; by it Ezra was guided in settling the question of intermarriage with foreigners, and on its teaching he founded his confession (Ez. 9⁶⁻¹⁵). But on his second visit to Jerusalem he made known to the congregation in the Temple the Law Book of the Priests which was to replace the D-ic code. By it religion was henceforth to be guided.

Shortly afterwards this Priestly Code was united with the D-ic code and history, and the completed edition revised by the Priestly school in the Priestly spirit. The Pentateuch thus became authoritative, but its text was not yet fixed. The Book of Joshua was probably removed from the edition owing to a natural desire not to extend it beyond Moses. Thus, though Joshua is, from the literary point of view, part of the Pentateuch, yet in the Hebrew Canon it is placed in the second set.

But Law alone could not give life. The Prophets had passed away, but the soul of prophecy existed in the collections of prophetic writings ; from them a selection was gradually made. It was probably in the days of Nehemiah that the process of collecting the existing records and memories of the prophets, as well as historical records, were made. The exact period when the " Prophets " were admitted into the Canon is uncertain ; it was certainly before the second century B.C., for in Ecclus. 44-50 references are made, not only to " famous men " encountered in " the prophets," but to others in the third group of the Hebrew Canon. The writer alludes therefore to other books besides " The Law and the Prophets,"

and by the indefiniteness and vagueness of his allusions we may infer that the third group had not yet been defined. We may therefore place the admission of the "prophets" into the Canon between Nehemiah and 200 B.C., most probably some time between 300-200 B.C.

One striking omission should be noted. The Book of Daniel is not included among "The Prophets," and in Eccles. 48, 49 it is not even mentioned among "the writings." This is evidence, which references in *Daniel* itself make certain, that the book was not yet written.

Other books were known but not recognised as Scripture. "Of making many books there is no end, and study is a weariness to the flesh" (Eccles. 12¹²). Of these other books the Psalter seems to have been first admitted, then other books of "the writings," ending last of all with *Chronicles*, because of the difficulty of harmonising it with the history of the narratives of "the Prophets"; and in our Lord's words, "from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zachariah" (Mt. 23³⁵, Lk. 11⁵¹, cf. 2 Ch. 24²⁰⁻²²), we may see a reference to the prospective limits of the Canon from the first book of the Law to the last book of the Writings. But it was not till after the destruction of the Temple (A.D. 70) that the Canon was finally settled by the Jewish Sanhedrin meeting at Jamnia about 100 A.D.

CHAPTER VIII

O.T. SCIENCE AND MIRACLES

THE scientific knowledge of the Jews was of a very crude and primitive character, and shews no perceptible advance in the twenty centuries which elapsed from the time of Abraham to the production of the Book of Daniel. We have already called attention to the *religious* growth in this period, pointing out how the Hebrews beginning with a form of nature worship in which springs of water, green trees, and shaped stones were associated with Jehovah, advanced to the wonderful conception that God was maker of heaven and earth. They did not learn how or in what manner God created, though they recognised God as creator. The former is not an article of our faith, the latter is; we discard their science, but we accept their theology. We have also stated that the first story of Creation (Gen. 1-2^{4a}) dated from the fifth century B.C., and in order that we may approach the teaching it offers without bias, let us gather from references in the O.T. other than Gen. 1-2^{4a} the extent of Jewish science from earliest days to the time of Christ. The following is a summary of it :

Light and darkness existed independently of the sun, and each had its dwelling place (Job 26¹⁰, 38¹⁹, Ps. 104²⁰). The sky was a solid vault, in shape like a dome, resting on mountains which supported it

(Job 26¹¹, Prov. 8^{28, 29}, Amos 9⁶); this vault was as strong as a molten mirror and had windows and gates (Gen. 28¹⁷, 2 K. 7^{2, 19}, Job 37¹⁸) through which the mysterious waters above the sky descended in rain on the earth (Gen. 7¹¹, 8², Ps. 78²³) and in those waters the beams of Jehovah's chambers were laid (Ps. 104³, Amos 9^{6a}). To this dome were attached the sun, moon, and stars, which were therefore smaller bodies than the earth; these mysteriously revolved round the earth, the sun being held to rise from its habitation, to go down and to hasten to the place whence it rose (Ps. 19⁴⁻⁶, Eccles. 1⁵). The earth itself rested on a dark abyss of waters, the deeps, which were laid up in store-houses (Ps. 33⁷, 135⁶, 136⁶); to the ancients this deep was like a dragon, leviathan, or serpent (Ex. 20⁴, Job 26¹³, 41, Ps. 74¹²⁻¹⁹, Is. 51⁹, Amos 9²⁻³); from these watery deeps, through channels, the springs ascended (against gravity) to cause floods (Gen. 7¹¹, 8², Job 38¹⁶). The earth was flat and of circular shape, not spherical, part occupied by sea and part by land. Within the earth was Sheol, the place of the departed (see pp. 154, 155).

These naïve conceptions that the earth was flat and the heavens a solid vault, that the luminaries revolved round the earth, which was fixed in position, that there were waters above the firmament and under the earth, that the rainbow was not caused by the action of rays of light, that there were no laws of gravity, are evidence of the childish and fantastic knowledge of science. Can we then reasonably expect to find modern scientific knowledge in a story of creation written in these times? Compare the knowledge displayed in the summary given above with the first

story of creation, and notice their points of agreement ! We see the priestly writer setting forth his views of creation, unscientific in details to modern minds, but sublime in his theology. What wonderful religious truths he sets forth ! God transcendent, God the creator, God in the beginning and at the end.

There is no need then to harmonise modern science and Old Testament science. The science of the Old Testament is not the science of to-day nor of the future ; it was within comparatively recent times that Copernicus taught that the earth was not the centre of the universe, and that it revolved round the sun, and put an end to the geocentric theory which from Abraham to 1500 A.D. was the accepted theory.

The first Creation Story in outline.

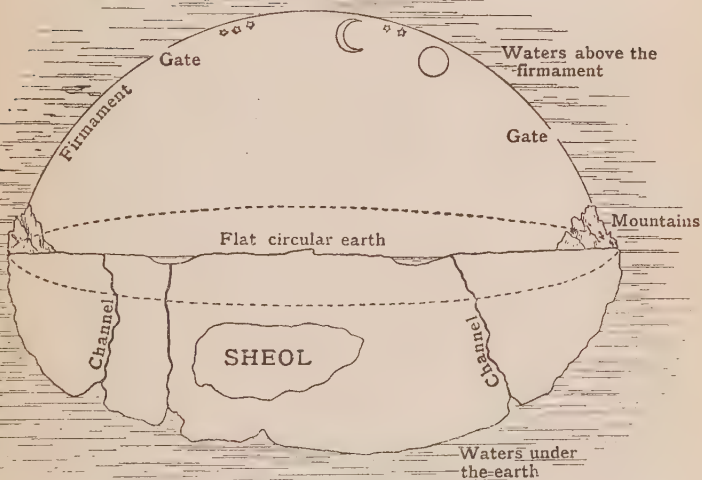
From eternity God existed, and in the earliest time that we can imagine He called the universe into existence, not necessarily out of nothing. There was, that is, there existed before the first days of creation : (i) the earth in an unformed, undefined shape, which was enveloped by (ii) a huge primitive mass of waters, over the face of which was (iii) darkness. Over the face of the waters the breath or spirit of God brooded like a bird over its nest.

(Thus chaos was probably conceived as a world-egg, out of which creation was to come forth. Notice how, in the order of creation, the envelopes of the unformed earth were dealt with in order, beginning with the darkness, which was external.)

And God said, "Let there be light," and light came into existence. God saw that the light was good, and He separated the light from the darkness



BEFORE CREATION.



AFTER CREATION.

in which it had been confused. God gave to light and darkness the names Day and Night, though the sun had not yet been made. And there was evening, and there was morning, one earthly day. (Note : As darkness preceded light, so the Jews reckoned a day from sunset to sunset.)

In the second day the original waters were divided by a firmament or solid vault which God made. Thus there were waters above and waters below the firmament, the latter being the source of springs, rivers, lakes and seas.

On the third day the waters under the heaven were gathered together into one place and called Seas ; the dry land became visible and was called Earth, which was then clothed with vegetation.

On the fourth day He created bodies carrying light, the sun, moon and stars, which were placed in the firmament to serve three purposes, (i) to divide the day from the night, (ii) to be signs to determine phenomena, such as the weather and eclipses, and fixed times and their lengths such as days, weeks, months, years and sacred seasons, (iii) to give light upon earth for the growth and progress of all kinds of life.

On the fifth day God peopled the water and air with animals, who were gifted with life, and as being animate beings, He bestowed a new gift on them, His blessing.

On the sixth day God created the land animals and man. Man was the climax of creation, and He emphasised man's pre-eminence by addressing the heavenly beings who surrounded Him, "Let us make man in our image," giving him thus divine

qualities to distinguish him from the animals and a character which is "potentially divine," and "dominion over all living things upon the earth." Male and female were created by God, who provided for them seed and fruit for food, whilst to terrestrial animals He gave the leaves.

On the seventh day God rested, and blessed the day and made it holy.

Thus the priestly writer states his theory of creation in his measured, stereotyped, prosaic style. He probably derived it from Babylonian creeds or they both from a common source ; in either case he purified his sources of their grossness, impurities, and idolatries, and substituted his pure theology. To read into his account the knowledge which modern astronomy, geology, botany or anthropology gives is impossible and unnecessary, if not dangerous. His science is crude, his theology is profound.

Miracles of the O.T.

The majority of the Old Testament miracles are associated with the names of Moses, Elijah, and Elisha, who lived at great crises in Jewish history, when it is not impossible to believe that God might, through His servants, have intervened to protect His people and His religion. In the history of Israel miracles find a fitting place, and in the abstract no religiously-minded person dare deny that God could work miracles, and, if necessary, overrule the laws of the universe. All things are possible with God, but are the O.T. miracles *probable*? It is not a question of "Could they have happened?" but "Did they happen?"

The problem of the N.T. miracles has to be similarly approached, but we must always remind ourselves that, whilst the O.T. records are separated by centuries from the events described in them, the N.T. records were transcribed by men who lived very soon after the events. The whole problem is, in the main, one of evidence; the N.T. writers, as contrasted with those of the O.T., give us evidence of a much higher order.

The problem of the O.T. miracles would be simple were it not for the element of wizardry and magic introduced by some of the writers; they are so intent on glorifying the human actors that they have relegated to the background the action of God. For example, the plagues of Egypt are by J represented as natural phenomena in an intensified form sent by God, whilst P represents them as brought about by the magic rod of Aaron, and E by the magic rod of Moses; J represents them as happenings of Providence divinely sent to succour God's chosen people, P and E as miracles wrought by man as a wonder-worker. In either case they are acts of God, but it is the manner of representing these acts which causes many a difficulty to the reader and student. Let us consider two instances:

The Plagues. In the chapter on Literature we have seen that J gives us seven plagues, which are represented as not caused by Moses and Aaron with magic rods, but as coming and going naturally; they were sent by God, who made use of calamities, to which Egypt was liable, to help in time of crisis. J further tells us that the people cried unto God, that their cry came to Him, and that He came down

to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians (Ex. 3^{7-9a}). J is therefore consistent. He represents the seven plagues as sent by God, and implies that they were sent in answer to the prayers of the oppressed. With this we can all agree. The plagues are miracles in so far that they are strikingly providential; they cease to be miracles if the divine element is made subservient to the human, for they are then magic. We have also noticed the existence of contradictory statements in the accounts taken as a whole, a position which is explained by the different sources from which the Biblical accounts were compiled.

Hence by adopting J's representation we hold steadfastly to the Providence of God, and see the significance of the methods of representation that Moses and Aaron were possessed of specially efficacious magical powers by which they wrought deliverance.

The Elisha miracles. The same disturbing elements meet us in the sources from which the life of Elisha was compiled. It begins with the translation of Elijah and ends with a resurrection of a dead man on his body coming in contact with the bones of Elisha. The successor of a great prophet is represented as a diviner or seer, an inferior order of prophet. He is subject to frenzy, and is stimulated by music (2 K. 3¹⁵); he uses a magic mantle (2 K. 2) and is in possession of a magic staff (4²⁹). His life is associated with prophetic guilds, known as "the sons of the prophets," who live a coenobitic life in fixed centres such as Gilgal, Bethel and Jericho, and to them gifts are given (2, 4-6). But this is not the only difficulty in the Elisha miracles. There are considerations which lead us to the conclusions (1)

that the Elisha sources were compiled by a prophetic guild in order to glorify both Elisha and the guild and to enforce the lesson of reverence, (2) that it is difficult to accept the record in the O.T. as a whole.

1. The narratives are not consistent; there are contradictions between the sources which are clearly prophetic and those which are founded on annals. In the former he is a diviner, ignorant of his special mission against Baal worship; in the latter he is a prophet of the type of Elijah, and carries out the mission to destroy Baal worship. Again in 6²³ the Syrian invasions are said to have ceased, but in the next verse, which is from the annals, Samaria is invested by the Syrians.
2. The Elisha sources themselves are inconsistent. For example, the abode of Elisha is variously represented. He seems to live at Gilgal (2), to have a house of his own in Samaria (5⁹, 6³²), to live with the sons of the prophets, who do not wish to be separated from him (4¹⁻³⁸, 6¹⁻⁷). Again, there are more important contradictions, *e.g.* Gehazi and his house are doomed to incurable leprosy for ever (2 K. 5²⁷), but he has no trace of it on a later occasion (8⁴).
3. Some of Elisha's miracles are duplicates of those assigned to his great predecessor, and we cannot help feeling suspicious that, in such cases at least, tradition has dealt freely with events.
4. The offering of first-fruits to a prophet is unusual (4⁴²), and there is no other similar instance in the Old Testament.

5. There is no mention of the name of the king of Israel except in one instance, which is from the annals and seems authentic (13¹⁴⁻¹⁹), and here no miracle is recorded; on the other hand Elisha's associations with Syria are extensive, and the kings of Syria, and even one of his courtiers, are known by name.

Our conclusion is that on the evidence the Elisha sources—where it departs from reliance on the annals—are of inferior value. In so far as they describe the main facts of the life of Elisha and of the prophetic guilds and refer to Israel's political relations with Syria, they contain useful and valuable information, but the miraculous element must be regarded as legendary.

We have stated that the "Translation of Elijah" comes from the Elisha source, and with regret we must distinguish between the event and its representation. Elijah's appearance was sudden, in Horeb he witnessed the usual accompaniments of a thunder-storm; he was known as "the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof" (2 K. 2¹², cp. 13¹⁴); his disappearance was as sudden as his first appearance. Thus has popular fancy dealt with the story of his life, and evolved the story of the translation by chariots and horses of fire.

There are other considerations which enable us to ascertain the veracity of a miracle and to distinguish between an incident and its representation. We know, for example, that in the J source the writers are peculiarly partial to anthropomorphisms, and their style, like that of E, was highly dramatic, whilst a song or poem indulges in flights of fancy

which cannot be interpreted literally. A few instances of each may be of interest.

Animals gifted with speech. There is the incident of Balaam's ass. This is part of the J source in which not only is the representation of God anthropomorphic, but even the earth is personified. "The voice of thy brother's blood *crieth* from the ground," "which hath *opened her mouth* to receive thy brother's blood" (Gen. 4¹⁰⁻¹¹). Again, "the earth *opened her mouth* and *swallowed up*" Korah and his fellow conspirators with their families (Num. 16³² J). In the story of the Fall the serpent speaks; in the song of the Red Sea the earth swallows the Egyptians (Ex. 15¹² J)—a peculiar statement, for it is the waters which might be said to have swallowed the pursuers.

The Walls of Jericho. This is a good example of the dramatic style; the incident as a whole implies that there was no actual fighting (J), which is not in harmony with the statement attributed to Joshua that the Israelites fought at Jericho (Josh. 24¹¹ E). The strange procession round the city, when the Israelites walked round it thirteen times without any hostile attack from the besieged, is also at variance with the incident of the spies and the saving of Rahab (see pp. 218, 234). The old walls of Jericho, about 800 yards in circumference, have been discovered by excavation, and a breach found on the eastern side, showing that the walls did not fall down flat nor was the city burned. P's history simply implies, what the excavations have shown, that the Jews gained a wondrous victory when, at the first assault, the walled city of Jericho was captured by storm. Jericho is still standing in Josh. 18²¹, 2 S. 10⁵.

Song. The most familiar miracle is that of the sun standing still at Gibeon. According to tradition Joshua wrote the book that bears his name, and here he is, though a participant in the battle, said to quote from the Book of Jashar (pp. 75, 223), which was an ancient collection of songs and lyrics :

“Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon ;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.”

A poetic fancy is not a literal fact. Notice the anthropomorphism of the previous verse, “The LORD cast down great stones from heaven,” and compare the sequel where the sun is represented as going down in its ordinary course (Josh. 10²⁷). To take the words of the poem literally implies that other poetic references should be understood similarly ; for example, in the Song of Deborah, that Jehovah came flying on the wings of the wind to the help of the Israelites when “the mountains flowed down at the presence of the LORD” (Jg. 5⁴ 5), and again that “the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.” Again in the Psalms we are told that Jehovah rideth on the wings of the wind, and that “He drew” the psalmist “out of many waters,” which are clearly figurative, for we cannot say in the later reference that God put out His hand from heaven and by a physical act drew the drowning man out of the water-flood.

Thus anthropomorphisms, imaginations, and poetical fancies are not miracles. They are literary forms ; they are characteristics of writers and their writings. Such metaphorical language is met with even in our own days.

Another consideration is the scientific knowledge of the O.T. We have seen the extent and value of it, and in the case of the plagues we have an instance of natural phenomena which by some writers were invested with miraculous attributes. Let us consider three familiar events.

The crossing of the Red Sea. Did Moses stretch out his rod and cause the waters to divide? To answer the question we turn to the Biblical records, and find that in Ex. 14^{21, 27b} (J), the crossing was due to a wind which gave the Israelites passage; the wind veered round opportunely as the Egyptians were crossing, and the sea engulfed them. The account of the crossing is made up of accounts from three sources, and it is to P that the statement that the waters were a wall to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left is due (Ex. 14^{22, 26, 28, 29}). As with the plagues, so here, P represents the providential as the miraculous. A similar representation meets us in the story of the crossing of the Jordan.

The waters of Marah. Here is J's usual anthropomorphism. "The LORD shewed him a tree," which Moses cast into the waters and thereby made them sweet. It was a well-known practice of the Bedouins, and J refers to it and enlarges on it but does not definitely represent it as a miracle. He constantly refers results to natural causes, but attributes them to Jehovah, whereas P on the other hand, as in the stories of the manna, the Red Sea, etc., definitely ascribes ordinary events to miraculous causes (see pp. 31-35).

Mount Carmel. Here is another instance of a providential occurrence. Elijah prays to God who answers

his prayer, and "the fire of the LORD falls." God makes the lightning serve His purpose (Gen. 19²⁴).

Another and a most important consideration is whether the miracle is in keeping with the ethical character of God. Is it worthy of His honour and does it bear witness to His moral character? The providential acts referred to above undoubtedly are in keeping with His character, whilst many of the miracles which on other grounds we have thrown doubt upon, are on the application of this principle further discredited, *e.g.* the falling down of the walls of Jericho followed by the massacre of the inhabitants, the Elisha miracles, which are to be taken together and include the incident of the she-bears, the axe made to swim, the multiplication of food, etc.

Lastly, do subsequent references confirm or contradict previous statements? As illustrations, Gehazi is no leper in 2 K. 8⁴⁻⁷; the plagues (see pp. 31-35), the walls of Jericho (pp. 218, 234), the destruction of Korah, Dathan and Abiram (pp. 39-41), the Elisha records, etc., furnish plenty of instances.

We notice therefore that the alleged miracles have to be discussed from various points of view which are not mutually exclusive. Each miracle has to be judged independently, and in so doing its relation to its source, which is to be taken as a whole, has to be considered. Our conclusion is that the O.T. miracles are not miracles as generally understood, that they are described for us in words which cannot be accepted as literally true, that they enshrine for us certain historical facts which can be accepted, that care has to be taken to distinguish between the facts and the language in which they are represented.

The grounds by which a miracle should be tested may be summarised as follows :

1. Its source and the style, outlook, and aim of the school of writers from which the source originated.
2. Is it represented as a natural phenomenon providentially called into operation by God ?
3. Is it O.T. science ?
4. Is it contradicted ?
5. Is it in answer to prayer ?
6. Is it consistent with the ethical character of God as we know it ?

As an illustration of the application of these six points, which may inter-cross, let us take the case of the *Sun Dial of Hezekiah* (2 K. 20⁸⁻¹¹, Is. 38^{1-8, 21-22}).

1. The source is considerably later than the event described.
2. It is not represented as a natural phenomenon, but there are peculiar ideas in the narrative. Hezekiah considers it a light thing for the shadow to decline, that is to go forward, ten steps, and asks that the shadow return backward ten steps, *i.e.* that the day be lengthened. Why should it be less miraculous for the day to be shortened than lengthened ? In the incident at Beth-horon too the day is lengthened.

Now in the O.T. it is a common idea that anything unusual happening was always to be associated with some national or personal event, *e.g.* the bubonic plague among the Philistines with the Ark being amongst them,

a pestilence with the taking of a census, etc. (see pp. 96-98). It may therefore be the same here. Some unusual event, such as an eclipse which took place during the king's illness, may have led to the starting of the tradition.

3. There is nothing in O.T. astronomy which would make the acceleration or retardation of the sun seem impossible to a Jew, whose only chronometer was the sun itself. Their elementary knowledge of astronomical causes could only lead them to assign an astronomical phenomenon, which could not otherwise be explained, to the movement of the luminaries. All they knew was that the sun moved round the earth; on this assumption, if there was anything unusual in the heavens, their only explanation could be that it was due to the sun or moon's movement being accelerated or retarded, or stopped altogether.
4. In Isaiah it is the sun which goes down ten steps, whilst in 2 Kings it is the shadow. Further, in 2 K. 20¹¹, the shadow is masculine, whilst the verb, "had gone down," is feminine. There has been some dislocation in the text.
5. There is no mention of prayer in the occurrence itself; the sign is voluntarily offered by Isaiah, and very strangely it is given *after* the recovery.
6. The miracle is not associated with a crisis in history and is not essential to the story. It made so little impression on the king that in his song of thanksgiving to God no reference is made to it (Is. 38⁹⁻²⁰). The king is healed

by remedies ; it is the recovery which looms large in the records, not the suspension of a law of the universe. There is nothing in the miraculous part of the story to make it consistent with the honour and character of God.

One other point remains to be discussed. Our Lord frequently referred to the miracles of the O.T. and to the chief characters concerned in them. Did He mean to accept them as literally true? or was He referring to them merely as recorded incidents, stated in a way adapted to Jewish methods of expression, and from which He could draw a spiritual lesson? Let us consider a difficult but instructive incident.

The Story of Jonah and the Whale. There are three miracles recorded in connection with Jonah's life. The Jonah of the book is doubtless the same as the Jonah mentioned in 2 K. 14²⁵, who, in the time of Jeroboam II., predicted the expansion of the northern kingdom ; he is a prophet of the type of Elisha, and not of Elijah or Amos.

In any study of the miracle we must begin with the references to Jonah made by our Lord. We find records of such in S. Mt., S. Mk., and S. Lk. In S. Mk. there is only an implied mention of Jonah (8^{12b}). In S. Lk. 11^{29, 30, 32}, Christ referred to Jonah as a sign of His advent ; as Jonah preached to the Ninevites so did Christ to an evil generation ; but whereas the men of Nineveh repented, the Jews were unbelieving and unrepentant. In S. Mt. (12³⁸⁻⁴¹, cf. 16⁴) the passage as it stands presents a different complexion. Jonah's miraculous deliverance is inserted, and our Lord's reply was that no sign would be given to the evil and adulterous generation but

the sign of His resurrection ; they would put Him to death, but He would rise again, as Jonah was delivered from the belly of the whale ; the sign of His resurrection might convince them.

In S. Lk. therefore, Jonah was the sign of our Lord's Advent ; in S. Mt. as it stands written, Jonah was the sign of our Lord's resurrection. This difference of interpretation depends on v. 40 in S. Mt., "for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale ; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."

If Christ spoke these words of v. 40, we notice that in them He used language adapted to the knowledge and beliefs of His hearers, for in speaking of Paradise he referred to it in a way which the Jew would understand, though it implied ideas which our Lord knew were wrong. When on the Cross, He spoke to the penitent thief, He used the word Paradise because the thief knew of and believed in His kingdom, whereas He here spoke of "the heart of the earth," where the Jews believed that Sheol the place of the departed was. Hence we may conclude that in the whole verse He was speaking in language and using ideas familiar to His hearers, and that as He spoke of the heart of the earth as Paradise, so He spoke of Jonah as being in the belly of the whale in a way that the Jews would understand without necessarily implying that He accepted the reference as literally true. But did Christ speak these words ? S. Mt. says He did, though S. Lk. omitted them. Now, when we read the whole passage in S. Mt. we notice first that the verse has no connection with the context, which speaks of repentance and not of the

resurrection; secondly, and this is conclusive, if Christ did speak the words of v. 40, He said what was not accurate. Was Jesus in the grave "three nights"? No possible method of reckoning can turn two nights, Friday and Saturday, into three; He was in the grave one whole day and part of two days, which the Jews reckoned as three days, and this included two nights only.

S. Mt. evidently made a mistake; he and S. Lk. drew from a common source, and he enlarged on it and inserted the incident of the whale on his own authority.

The conclusion is that Christ considered Jonah an historic person who preached at Nineveh, who went to the Gentiles on a mission of repentance and proclaimed the long-suffering mercy of the God of the Jews, who was also the God of the Gentiles.

The next question is: Are the miracles in *Jonah* true? Or are they exaggerations which in course of time always collect round great personages in history? We have seen examples of these exaggerations in the marvellous deliverance from Egypt, in the lives of Moses, Joshua, Deborah, Elijah, Elisha; we have seen the Chronicler altering history to exaggerate the glory of the righteous kings of Israel. It is an Eastern habit to let the imagination run riot and substitute fancy for accuracy in detail, in order that some truth may be more impressively presented. That the story of Jonah in the whale's belly is an allegory may be seen in the familiar image of the dragon or leviathan as representing the waters under the earth (p. 163), and the particular incident of Jonah preaching in Nineveh was doubtless influenced by an image of

speech which we find in Jeremiah (51^{34, 44}), "Nebuch-adrezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, he hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his maw with my delicates ; he hath cast me out. . . . And I will do judgment upon Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up."

QUESTIONS II.

1. Give an instance to shew that the D-ic code protests against the principle of corporate responsibility ?
In which commandment is this principle to be found ?
2. What traces exist in Deut. concerning the ill influence of a dead body on the living, and concerning mourning ?
3. Why are no miracles associated with the names of the canonical prophets ?
4. Was Haggai's conception of the Messianic hope coloured by contemporary history ?
5. How does Joel conceive of the " Day of Jehovah " ?
6. On what grounds is it held that cc. 9-14 of Zechariah were not written by him ?
7. How does the book of Daniel shew that the writer has an inaccurate knowledge of the history of the exile and the immediately subsequent period ?
8. What empires are represented by the symbols of Daniel ?
9. What natural phenomena are implied in the following miracles ?
 - (a) The Israelite victory over Moab (2 K. 3).
 - (b) Jonah and the gourd.
10. How may the parallels between Jeremiah's prophecy on Edom (49⁷⁻²²) and that of Obadiah be explained ?

CHAPTER IX

THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS

GENESIS.

The Early Narratives.

THE first eleven chapters of Genesis give us the Jewish beliefs concerning the creation of the world, and of the first dwellers in it. Written between the ninth and fifth centuries, these narratives embody long-existing traditions, put into writing by men who in their respective ways proclaim the rule of God in history from the beginnings of creation. Their history is imaginary, their science ephemeral, but their theology is eternal; hence the unique value of these narratives.

The source of these stories was the common folklore of all Semitic races; similar traditions have been found in Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. In our own day such traditions exist among all uncivilised peoples. The dissimilarities however are remarkable, for whilst the heathen narratives are crude, immoral, puerile and gross, the Jewish narratives, shaped in accordance with the monotheism and elevated teaching of the prophets, are pure,

spiritual and dignified. The greatness of the Bible narratives is the majestic conception of Jehovah, though this conception is presented in ancient modes of thought and expression ; His rule in the world is shewn to be a process of election in which first the race of Shem, and from Shem the family of Abraham was chosen to be His peculiar people.

The early chapters of Genesis are not complete records, but extracts from two existing sources blended together in a spiritual unity. There is no general attempt in the compilation to harmonise different traditions ; we may even deduce from the insertion of parallel stories of an event that the final editor realised that God's revelation of Himself was gradual and progressive, since these stories are drawn from the older record of the Jehovist school and the later record of the Priestly school. The narratives themselves are pure tradition, in which events and personalities are of no historical value.

The Patriarchal Narratives.

The lives of the Patriarchs are of a relatively higher order than the early narratives of Genesis, since not only are the great characters of the patriarchal age historical, but also many of the incidents seemingly enshrine facts of history and faithfully portray characteristic traits of the tribes of Israel. They are all, however, of supreme spiritual value, for the characters are familiar friends, and their struggles, victories and failures are our common experiences.

Of these narratives many are connected with Israelite sanctuaries where traditions were orally preserved. Many describe domestic incidents which

ordinarily form part of Bedouin life, which is very conservative; some are expressions of the jealousy between tribes which are closely related to each other, *e.g.* (1) the enmity between Israel and Esau-Edom is accounted for by the story of a struggle between their ancestors, Jacob and Esau, which began from the moment of their birth, and (2) an attempt at supremacy on the part of the tribe of Ephraim by a story of the jealousy of eleven brothers against Joseph. In the narratives names are occasionally used to represent individuals and tribes as if the individual summed up in himself the history of the tribe, *e.g.* Midian, Ishmael, and Amalek. Some of the narratives are inconsistent even with Biblical history, for Abraham and Isaac have dealings with the Philistines (who gave us the term Palestine); now the Philistines did not settle in Canaan until many hundred years after the said Patriarchs lived.

In these stories of the patriarchal age we possess in idealised form the oral traditions of the beginnings of Jewish history, collected and transcribed by at least three schools of writers. It is not their imaginary element which ought to cause us surprise, for when we consider that the written records are separated from the events recorded by centuries, that between the patriarchs and the ninth century, when the first records were written down, there were not only seven hundred years of patriarchal history, but also five hundred years of unsettled life in Egypt and Canaan, we marvel rather that records of any kind whatever were possible, that even the names of the patriarchs were handed down by oral tradition. Twelve hundred years of *oral* tradition! Are we surprised that

the Jews were chosen to be the people of God? We marvel, therefore, not at the forms of tradition, not at the small historical value of the traditions, but that any traditions were preserved at all.

What is the history which is behind these narratives? To answer this question we are thrown back upon archaeological research, and the following summary is an attempt to reconstruct history on these lines, and is necessarily conjectural in many respects.

The-Hebrews were members of the Semitic race of mankind, and in far distant ages the Semites lived in Central Arabia, whence they spread into and settled in Amurru, or the "Westland"—that is the Mediterranean seaboard and Syria-Canaan, and became the ancestors of the Amorites of the O.T. One wave of Semites from Amurru founded a dynasty in Babylonia which lasted from 2225 to 1926 B.C. The most famous king of this Amorite dynasty was Hammurabi, who flourished about 2100 B.C. and is famous as the king who delivered Babylonia from the Elamites. He extended his sway over Canaan and produced a remarkable code of laws (see p. 43). The Amorites, however, though conquerers, were influenced by the more cultured civilisation of the conquered, and learnt Babylonian legends and traditions, and adopted their language and script.

Among these Amorites were certain tribes from Aram, who had lived a nomadic life in the northern part of Syria west of the Euphrates. These Aramaean nomads, known in later times as the Habiri or Hebrews, migrated during the Amorite dynasty in Babylonia, and under the leadership of Abraham travelled by way of Haran to Canaan (*circ.* 2100 B.C.).

This migration was part of a succession of Aramaean movements westward. (Deut. 26⁵ R.V. mg.)

Canaan was then inhabited by Amorites and other Semitic tribes, such as the Hittites and Canaanites. Amongst them the Hebrews lived a life apart, worshipping Jehovah, observing their religious rites, and avoiding matrimonial alliances; they were sincere seekers after God, whom Abraham had conceived to be purer and more spiritual than the deities of Babylonia (see Conception of God, pp. 78-83). They were nomads, moving from place to place, finding temporary homes at Shechem, Beersheba, Bethel and Hebron (see Ques. p. 217). One incident in Abraham's life has definite historical value; the Amraphel of Gen. 14 is generally identified with Hammurabi, but Abraham's name has not yet been found in inscriptions, nor has any inscription been discovered to confirm the exact events of this chapter.

A second body of Aramaeans (=Syrians in Gen. 24, 25²⁰, 28⁵, 31^{20, 24}) migrated to Canaan a few centuries after Abraham. They formed the Rebekah tribe, which, by union with the Isaac tribe, produced the two tribes of Jacob and Esau, and gave their name to a place called Jacob-el. Meanwhile another body of Asiatic Semites from Amurru, known as the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, had advanced into Egypt and founded a dynasty which lasted about 200 years (1780-1580 B.C.); one of the Hyksos chieftains was named Jacob-el. The Hyksos were; about 1580 B.C., overthrown by the native Egyptians, and Thotmes III., the most famous king of Egypt, invaded Syria and captured Jacob-el and other towns (*circa* 1500 B.C.), a conquest recorded in in-

scriptions on the Temple at Karnak. The Egyptians ruled Syria and Canaan for over three centuries, that is till the time of the Exodus.

In course of time hostilities broke out amongst the Hebrew tribes and compelled the Jacob tribes to return to their ancestral home, where they joined with fresh Aramaean tribes (Jacob's wives). This new tribal body, now known as Israel, formed a fresh migration into Canaan; a struggle ensued among them for the supremacy, and the Joseph tribe failing in its attempt to wrest power, was forced to flee into Egypt, where it rose to eminence and was joined by other tribes, Simeon and Levi; they lived an exclusive pastoral life in Goshen, retaining their individuality and increasing in numbers (1435-1220 B.C.).

Thus, whilst the Joseph tribe was in Egypt, there were Hebrews in Canaan. We now come to the famous Tel-el-Amarna tablets, according to which Babylonian influence was still prevalent in Canaan, for their cuneiform script was used in official correspondence between Egypt and neighbouring kingdoms; but more interesting for our purpose, mention is made in these tablets of a revolt of the Habiri or Hebrews in Syria-Canaan, during which they conquered many cities (1411-1358 B.C.). At this time there was a large Aryan population in Syria-Canaan, and the Hebrews soon became masters of Canaan. The Egyptians then began to take steps to restore their ancient rule over Syria, and Seti, a King of Egypt, claimed to have captured a district named Asaru (=Asher) in West Galilee (1313 B.C.), whilst one of his successors is said to have plundered Canaan. "Israel is desolated, his seed is not" (1223 B.C.).

It was during the reign of this latter king that the Philistines made a movement from Crete towards Canaan and occupied the maritime plain.

EXODUS.

The migration of the Joseph tribes into Egypt probably took place about 1435 B.C. Not all the Hebrews were in it; evidence is accumulating, as we have seen, that many remained behind in Canaan, whilst others lived in the Sinai Peninsula. Neither was it the first or only migration; many had crossed to Egypt in earlier days, as for instance during the Hyksos rule in Egypt; many crossed between 1435 and the Exodus, such as the Simeon and Levi tribes; lastly all the Hebrews did not leave Egypt in the Exodus.

Two centuries after the Hebrew settlement in Egypt there came a change in their fortunes, when a Pharaoh arose who knew not Joseph or his services to Egypt; the ignorance of the new king's name is evidence of a long interval between the event and the written record of it. The Pharaoh of the oppression was probably Rameses II. (1300-1234 B.C.), and the oppression was the result of the loss of the great Egyptian Empire in Asia. Under him the Hebrews were no longer protected, their religious practices were prohibited, and they were compelled to do forced labour and to build cities, amongst them Pithom, a store city (Ex. 1¹¹). It was not until a leader appeared in Moses that an attempt to escape was made.

Moses had been born in Egypt, and risen to some eminence ere his interference in quarrels compelled him to flee into the desert, where he lived among the Midianites and came into contact with the Kenites and those Hebrews who dwelt there, worshipping the God whose dwelling-place was on Mount Sinai, under the name of Jehovah. Convinced that he was called upon to deliver his oppressed brethren, and overcoming the difficulties which beset him, Moses began his task. One of these difficulties was the choice of the name of the Deity which he had to proclaim to the Israelites in order to gain their adhesion. In the ancient world a nation was inseparable from its God; every nation must have its own God, and Moses, in proclaiming Jehovah as the God of the Israelites, was insisting on a fact of religion which entailed the principle of national life. The name decided on by Moses was Jehovah, the God of the Patriarchs and of the desert tribes amongst whom he dwelt (see pp. 83-87). Jehovah was henceforth to be the God of all the tribes of Israel.

One circumstance helped him; he had in his elder brother, Aaron, a gifted speaker. The enslaved Israelites welcomed the deliverers, but when they approached the Pharaoh, Merenptah (1234-1214 B.C.), with a request for a temporary release of their brethren that they might hold a feast in the wilderness, the Pharaoh charged them with disturbing the peace and increased the tasks of the Israelites. Providentially the land was visited with a succession of plagues, natural phenomena wonderfully intensified beyond the degree to which the country was accustomed in the past; frogs, flies, locusts, hail, dust-

storms involving darkness that could be felt, inundations, and lastly a pestilence which carried off the best youth of the nation, were experienced by the Egyptians, and the obstinate Pharaoh gave way. The majority of the Israelites left in haste, whilst some remained behind and are known to have been in Egypt as late as 1170 B.C. (They are referred to in inscriptions as the "Aperu".)

The fugitives, a relatively small band, hurried to the Red Sea, where the Egyptians, recovering from their unsettlement, overtook them. Once again God's providence protected them; a strong gale from the East gave them a passage across the waters (Ex. 14²¹, Ps. 77¹⁷⁻¹⁹); then, as the Egyptians were crossing, the wind veered round and they were engulfed in the waters. It was a memorable event, and ever remembered in history and in song.

The exact route followed by the Israelites is uncertain, and their itinerary cannot be reconstructed. That they suffered from hunger and thirst and attacks from wandering tribes is to be assumed; traditions gathered round the events, and ordinary incidents were gradually replaced by the extraordinary. All we need to realise is the providence of God, who led them through the wilderness, and in a real sense gave them food and drink, protected them and guided them. That the Israelites were rebellious, that they worshipped Jehovah under the sign of a calf, that Moses promulgated a Decalogue and laid the foundation of law, and that the Israelites possessed a simple Tent in which an Ark was placed as a symbol of Jehovah, cannot be doubted.

The Biblical records are written in highly dramatic

language, and we have pointed out many inconsistencies which preclude us from dealing with the records as wholly literal. The dramatic element is particularly prominent in the scene on Mount Sinai, where the convulsions of nature, the thunder and the lightning, are represented as the voice of God.

When the Israelites dwelt at Kadesh they attempted an entry into Canaan. Spies were sent into the country, and, influenced by their report, an advance was made northwards, but it ended in defeat. There Dathan and Abiram rebelled against the secular authority of Moses, and there Miriam died. The region round Kadesh was inhabited by the Judah tribe, which was of mixed origin, and included the Kenites and Calebites, and whilst the wandering Israelites dwelt at Kadesh, this tribe, in conjunction with the tribe of Simeon and the Kenites, broke away and pressed into Canaan, where they conquered and permanently settled in the hill country known later as Judah. The Judah tribe thus went its own way, and maintained its life apart from that of the other tribes ; David was able to bring about a fusion between Judah and the rest, but it was only of a temporary character. The whole course of Hebrew history shews that the mixed tribe of Judah kept itself aloof from the main current of national life.

At length the Joseph tribes resumed their journey, travelling round Edom. Moses and Aaron both died before Canaan was reached, and future generations seeking the reason why Moses and Aaron were excluded from the promised land accounted for it by the story of their disobedience to God at the waters of Meribah.

This, in general outline, was probably the course of history in which Moses played the predominant part. His patriotism, his humility, his unselfishness, his courage, are all portrayed in the O.T. narratives. He was one of those individuals to whom the world owes much ; he lived in advance of his age ; he realised the goodness and mercy and patience of Jehovah, and the ethical demands made by Him and the meaning of the deliverance. He it was who saw the spiritual and civilising power of the religion of Jehovah, and succeeded in reviving the national faith in Him. Later generations rightly called Moses a " prophet." By him slaves were transformed into an orderly host ; by him they were brought under the discipline of a simple code of ten laws. Before he died he delivered a farewell address to his people (a fact which Deuteronomy renders likely) and appointed Joshua to be his successor.

Joshua.

In order to understand the history of the settlement in Canaan, it is necessary that we should make three preliminary studies :

First, Geographical. Canaan is a highly mountainous country, whose chief river is the Jordan, which runs between two mountain ranges parallel to the coast. The western range is broken up by the historic plain of Esdraelon, in which were situated Megiddo and Jezreel, and through this plain runs the river Kishon ; south of the plain a spur extends to Mt. Carmel, from east to west. The main western range extends southward and widens into a great central plateau on which lay Jerusalem and Hebron.

On the west of this central plateau is a low range of hills called the Shephelah (*i.e.* Lowlands) ; between them are valleys running north and south, with defiles giving access from the hills to the tableland.

South of the tableland is the Negeb, an almost desolate region depending for its scanty fertility on rains. Its chief town is Beersheba. South of Carmel, along the sea-coast, is a maritime plain extending southwards to a wady—the brook of Egypt—and opening on the north into the plain of Esdraelon. These plains formed the great highway between the Nile and the Euphrates, through them went the world's commerce and the armies of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon.

These general features shew us how the various cities of Canaan, each with its own king, were cut off from one another by natural barriers.

Secondly, Historical. In *Joshua* the conquest is represented as complete (18¹) and as of a wide character, a united people being led by Joshua from victory to victory. But in *Judges* 1–2⁵ the representation is totally different. The tribes set out from Gilgal to conquer their allotted portions ; they have no common leader, they act independently, and their campaigns are not all successful. Judah and Simeon in their advance from Kadesh had seized on the central highlands, but made no impression on the cities of the plains ; the house of Joseph, *i.e.* Ephraim and Manasseh, captured Bethel, but not Gezer ; the Benjamites and other tribes met with failure.

This preface, it will be noticed, begins with the words, “ And it came to pass after the death of Joshua,” which is clearly an editor's gloss to connect

Judges with *Joshua*, for the events described in the preface took place previous to the death of Joshua, who is still alive in 2⁶⁻⁸.

Traces of the failure are embodied in scattered fragments in *Joshua*, in language almost identical with that of *Judges* (Josh. 13¹³, 15^{14-19, 63}, 16¹⁰, 17¹¹⁻¹⁸, 19⁴⁷); this may be due to the respective compilers using a common source. Further, in Josh. 13¹ we are told that Joshua had not completely conquered the land, a statement at variance with the general impression created in the book that the campaign involved no serious defeats.

Thirdly, Critical. *Joshua* was first formed by combining two narratives of J and E, which were revised by the Deuteronomic school. The strictly historical section is in cc. 1-12, and this begins and ends with hortatory passages after the style of D (1^{3-9, 12-18}, 11^{10-12²⁴}); cc. 14-21 are full of Priestly ideas, and bear distinct marks of the Priestly school, namely lists, details of territories, statistics, cities of refuge and Levitical cities; by this school the history revised by D was edited. It is to these schools that the idealisations and exaggerations in *Joshua* are due. The aim of D was to shew Jehovah's abhorrence of the Canaanites and their abominations; the aim of P was to present the nation as united, a nation in which Eleazar the priest acted with Joshua in allotting Canaan, and to present the land as so entirely occupied that a survey of the possessions of the tribes was possible.

The History of the Conquest.

About 1200 B.C. the Joseph tribes under Joshua reached the river Jordan, on the other side of which lay Jericho, a walled town from which roads led to the central plateau. Spies were sent into Jericho, and acting on their report, Joshua decided to assault the city. Crossing the river successfully, a feat in which they were helped by a sudden subsidence of the water, though fords by which the spies had crossed would have served, the Israelites fixed their camp at Gilgal, where at the sanctuary the direction of future enterprises was decided by lot (Josh. 17¹⁴, Jg. 1³); there twelve memorial stones were set up. An advance was soon made on Jericho and the city captured by assault, an event of supreme importance to the coming campaign, for it proved that the walled towns were not insuperable barriers to the Hebrews. The capture so impressed itself on the people that unhistorical details gathered round it until the final record assumed the form of the biblical narrative. The fact is as stated in Josh. 24¹¹—the Israelites had to fight for the city.

Ai was next unsuccessfully attacked, but a second attack by stratagem was successful. Bethel too was seized by treachery (Jg. 1²²⁻²⁹), whilst with the Gibeonites Joshua, unable to capture their city, entered into an alliance. The alliance roused the hostility of some cities in the south and south-west, which formed a counter-league and attacked Joshua and the Gibeonites; they met with a severe defeat at Beth-horon, and their discomfiture was completed by a hailstorm. This great victory was celebrated by the Israelites in a poem.

Thus Mount Ephraim was captured and allotted to Ephraim, the tribe to which Joshua belonged. A second confederacy of Canaanites was defeated at Lake Merom, and the central camp was moved to Shiloh, where a house was built to contain the Ark.

The Book of Joshua thus describes the campaign of the Joseph tribes under the leadership of Joshua. The Judah tribes had already won a territory for themselves. It was only the hill country of the centre and north that was occupied by conquest. Whilst these tribes settled in Canaan by force, other invading tribes gained their ends by peaceful methods such as alliances. Their failure to make an impression on the cities of the plains is accounted for by the superiority of the Canaanites in the arts of war, and in particular by the fact that on the plains they could use their chariots and cavalry. It is to be noticed that certain tribes had remained behind in Canaan from the time of their emigration over two centuries ago; for instance the tribe Asher (see p. 187), and the tribe Dan (cf. Gen. 49.¹⁶), who were driven out of their territory and compelled to seek a new home (Jg. 1³¹⁻³⁴, 18).

The complete capture of Canaan was a long and gradual process, each tribe acting independently and fighting for itself. Ephraim and Judah were separated by a line of strong fortresses running from east to west, Jerusalem was held by the Jebusites, whilst another line of strongholds on the north from the Jordan to the south of the plain of Esdraelon cut off tribes such as Asher, Issachar, Zebulon and Naphtali from Ephraim. The final conquest of Canaan was not achieved till the time of Solomon.

Work of Joshua.

The chief credit of the conquest of Canaan belongs to Joshua ; it was he who laid the foundations of the settlement and led the Hebrews into the Promised Land. A worthy successor of Moses, he carried on his great leader's work and prepared the way for David. Joshua was able to bring some sense of unity into the mind of tribes full of jealousies and rivalry, and to teach them that tribal independence was insufficient to overcome the strong city states of the Canaanites. His great claim to the gratitude of Israel was that he contributed no mean share in making Israel a nation.

JUDGES.

The Book of Judges was compiled from an original book of heroes, which is included in 3⁷-16³¹, giving stories of six great judges, Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah and Samson. The compiler was a member of the Elohist literary school, which desired to enforce a theory it held—that the children of Israel, after the death of Joshua, forsook Jehovah and served Baal, that Jehovah was angered by their ingratitude and sold them to their enemies, but that when they repented He sent judges to deliver them from their foes (2¹¹-3⁶). This theory is constantly stated in connection with the stories of the judges, and its insertion in the record shews us that the E school did not aim at writing history but at interpreting it. The theory of the school is founded on the teaching of Hosea (1-3).

Undoubtedly traditions existed concerning local heroes, who were raised up by God to defend and deliver His people. There was no leader to succeed Joshua, and Canaan was only partially occupied; the Hebrews were exchanging their nomadic life for an agricultural; they were becoming settlers, not wanderers; city life was replacing tent life; they were in contact with a civilisation more advanced than their own, and with a religion akin to their own (see Conception of God, pp. 87-92); patriarchal rule was giving way to the rule of princes (5¹⁵, 8¹⁴), elders of the city (8¹⁴, 11⁵) and judges. The Babylonian influence in Canaan soon spread amongst the Israelites, and a rudimentary code of laws began to be formed, which ultimately grew into the Book of the Covenant. The Hebrews even made a movement in the days of Deborah and Gideon towards kingship, based on a common faith in Jehovah, but no progress was possible owing to tribal jealousy and prejudice, and fortunately for them no external power interfered in the affairs of Canaan.

The settlement in Canaan was, as we have seen, incomplete; the tribes were separated from one another by the physical features of the country. They were, as one would expect, in continual warfare with the local Canaanites, who tried to regain their lost territory; the Ammonites, Midianites and other tribes were anxious to share in the Hebrew conquests; the Philistines were concerned lest their own supremacy might be menaced by the new invaders of Canaan. The history of the period between Joshua and Samuel, which covers about 200 years, was one of warfare against the natives, and against raids by neighbouring

tribes. It was not national war, but tribal war. It was local in character ; support was not always given by adjoining tribes to any tribe which was at war ; Gideon had to flatter Manasseh and punish Succoth and Penuel for their selfish policy ; Jephthah was attacked by Ephraim, and Barak gained very little support. In this tribal war Israel had to depend on individuals raised up as emergencies arose. These heroes were the " judges," whose main function was not to administer justice but to deliver their tribes from oppression. Three explanations are given as to their necessity, and why the Israelites were unsuccessful in their campaigns. They were raised up, says the editor, primarily to punish Israel for their unfaithfulness and ingratitude to Jehovah, and also to prove Israel's devotion, and lastly to teach them the arts of war. They were men of courage, held to be inspired by Jehovah's spirit, but they were prone to superstition, and gave way to acts of violence which do not appeal to us, though they were in accordance with the morality of the age. Ehud used the name of God in committing murder, the Hebrews praised Jael for her treacherous murder of Sisera, Samson was a sensualist, the Danites stole an image with which to worship Jehovah. Yet even in this dark age there were types of courage and high morality and devotion, the most delightful being Ruth, the Moabitess.

History from Joshua to Samuel.

The Canaanites were the first tribe to attempt to regain their lost territory. Attacking the tribes in the north, who were cut off from Ephraim by a chain

of fortresses, they found an adversary in Deborah, who was a prophetess exercising judicial functions, and who was able to rally a few tribes to fight for Jehovah under Barak. The battle was fought on the plain of Esdraelon, and Barak, helped by a storm, crushed the Canaanites and Sisera, the Canaanite leader, was treacherously slain by Jael. The victory was celebrated in a song of triumph composed immediately after the event ; it is one of the earliest pieces of literature in the O.T.

On the eastern side of the Jordan lay the tribes of Midian and Ammon. Anxious to share in the captures made by the Israelites, the Midianites crossed the Jordan and entered the Plain of Esdraelon. Resistance was organised by Gideon, who desired to avenge the death of his brothers ; taking up a position at Mount Gilboa he overcame the Midianites and chased them across the Jordan. The tribes, as an act of gratitude to Gideon, offered him the kingship, but he refused the doubtful honour ; Abimelech, one of his sons, seized it, with the support of the Shechemites, but met with an inglorious death.

At some other time the Ammonites attacked Gilead, east of the Jordan. Jephthah, the leader of the Gileadites, remonstrated with them for invading a country seized from the Amorites, and in the ensuing battle defeated them ; the Ephraimites, indignant because they had taken no part in the victory, attacked Jephthah, but were beaten. The Gileadites then seized the fords of the Jordan. .

The most serious danger to the Israelites came from the Philistines, for while the other tribal attacks were local in character and limited in aim, the Philistines

intended to wrest supremacy from the Israelites. Of the earlier stages of a prolonged war between Israel and Philistia we know little; Samson's fame rests on acts of prowess to avenge his personal honour and private wrongs, and though these deeds created an impression on the people, he has hardly any claim to the dignity of a judge. At the time when the course of the struggle is more clearly defined, Shiloh, the chief sanctuary, was the centre of resistance. In the days of Eli the Israelites were defeated at Ebenezer, and in order to retrieve the position, the Ark was taken into the battle; a bigger defeat was met with, the Ark was captured and Shiloh destroyed. The Philistines, however, returned the Ark, which was kept thenceforward in the house of Abinadab.

The Biblical record is not free from inconsistencies and contradictions (see pp. 218, 235-238), shewing us that the original Book of Judges was made up of diverse traditions, yet the historical value of *Judges* is higher than that of the Mosaic period, for we are nearer the times when the traditions were transcribed.

SAMUEL.

The life of Samuel has been compiled from a variety of sources, a conclusion drawn from the contrasts in the Bible narrative taken as a whole. The differences in representation are, in the main, four:

1. Of Samuel himself there are three estimates:

(a) In the first three chapters his birth and call end with the statement that the whole country from Dan in the north to Beersheba in the

south knew that "Samuel was established to be a *prophet* of the LORD."

- (b) In cc. 7, 8 and 12, he is a great and powerful *judge*, the representative of God and a king-maker.
- (c) In c. 9 he is a *seer* of little reputation in a village of Ephraim, to whom Saul goes for help, taking a gift with him.

2. Of the institution of the monarchy, there are two divergent representations which cannot be reconciled. In some passages, the people, in consequence of the corruption of Samuel's sons, demand a king. The request displeases Samuel, as savouring of disloyalty to Jehovah, and as a desire to assimilate a heathen institution (8¹⁻²²), but he accedes to it with a warning that the king will act autocratically towards the people. In other passages, on the contrary, the kingship is not clamoured for by the people but is a Divine gift (9^{15-10¹⁶}).

3. In some verses the Israelites are suffering grievously from oppression by the Philistines, who are in possession of central Palestine (9¹⁶, 10⁵), and there is sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul (14⁵²). But in other passages there is a great peace consequent on a miraculous victory gained by the Israelites, the Philistines come no more within the border of Israel, and surrender certain cities to the victors (7¹⁰⁻¹⁴).

4. In 1 S. 15³⁵, Samuel and Saul are said never to have met again after the latter's rejection, but in 19²⁴ they meet again.

Because of these divergencies it is held that at least three sources were drawn upon for the complete life of Samuel. It is more than probable that the source which takes a painful view of the monarchy owes its conceptions to the experiences of the nation under the autocratic kings. One of these sources seems to have been a prophetic life of Samuel, and to it are due the following :

2¹¹⁻²⁶, 3-4¹. Birth, dedication, life at Shiloh, call to be a prophet.

15^{1-35a}. The rejection of Saul.

15^{35b}-16¹³. The anointing of David.

The second source which is more consistent with the historical situation of the days of Samuel gives the following outline of Samuel's life :

9¹-10¹⁶. Samuel, a little known seer, is visited by Saul, who wants his help to discover his father's lost asses. It is revealed to the seer that Saul is to be the divinely appointed king over the people ; Saul is anointed to his office and given three signs confirmatory of his appointment. He is to save Israel out of the hand of the Philistines (9¹⁶), who had garrisons in central Palestine (10⁵).

11¹⁻¹⁵. Saul accidentally hears of the appeal of Jabesh-Gilead for help against the Ammonites and delivers the city. He is made king at the local sanctuary in Gilgal.

13²-14⁵². War with the Philistines ; Saul displeases Samuel and is rejected by him. Jonathan's exploit ; rout of Philistines ; Jonathan's guilt and escape from death.

The third source (D-ic) needs some re-arrangement in order that the narrative may hang together. The compiler, in constructing his history from his sources, misplaced events to secure some kind of continuity.

2²⁷⁻³⁶. Doom of Eli's house foretold.

7²⁻¹⁷. Samuel as judge of the theocracy miraculously brings about a final defeat of the Philistines, which is followed by a great peace.

8¹⁻⁹. The elders come to Samuel at Ramah to ask for a king.

10^{17-19a}, 8¹¹⁻²². Samuel summons people to Mizpah, and accuses them of disloyalty to Jehovah. He explains the kind of harsh rule they must expect.

10^{19b-24}. Saul elected king by lot.

12¹⁻²⁵. Samuel makes a farewell address to the people, pointing out his impartiality as a judge, and the rule of the LORD in their past history.

10²⁵⁻²⁷. The people are dismissed.

Saul and David.

Difficulties confront us in the familiar stories of David's life, and how futile is any attempt to harmonise them will become apparent from the following considerations.

In the prophetic history of Samuel there is an account of David's anointing in the presence of his family (16¹⁻¹³). Of his future destiny, therefore, both David and his brothers were fully aware, and

yet instances are not wanting in which they act as though unconscious of the future which awaited the youngest son of Jesse. For example, David appears in the Israelite camp, only to be rebuked by his eldest brother Eliab, in terms which no brother could have used to one destined to be king. "Why art thou come down? and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart" (17²⁸). But more noteworthy is David's unconsciousness of his coming greatness; David says to Saul, "Who am I, and what is my life, or my father's family in Israel, that I should be son in law to the king?" (18¹⁸). Again, David is introduced to Saul as a minstrel. "And David came to Saul, and stood before him: and he loved him greatly; and he became his armour-bearer" (16¹⁴⁻²³). Yet after the death of Goliath, though David had lived at Saul's court and in his presence, Saul turns to Abner, the captain, and asks, "Whose son is this youth?" And Abner answers, "O king, I cannot tell." The hero is then brought before the king, who enquires, "Whose son art thou, thou young man?" (17⁵⁵⁻⁵⁸). In the sequel to this incident Saul takes David and keeps him at court.

Thus David is thrice introduced to us, and it is evident from the above that the three passages, 16¹⁻¹³, 16¹⁴⁻²³, 17¹²⁻³¹, are mutually independent.

There are difficulties in the story of Goliath. In the passage, 17¹²⁻³¹, David visits the Israelite camp to obtain news of his elder brothers; he has no right to be there, and Eliab's anger is kindled against him. But in contradiction to this we are told in v. 54 that

David has a tent of his own in the camp. The solution of the difficulty is found by assigning 17^{1-11, 32-54} to one source, and 17^{12-31, 55-58}, 18¹⁻⁵ to a second independent source. In the former, v. 32 follows naturally on v. 11, for if David was Saul's armour-bearer, his right place was with the king in the camp; this source is the more trustworthy.

Another question arises in this famous encounter between David and the Giant. Goliath has, we are told, a spear whose staff was like a weaver's beam (17⁷). Now, there is in 2 S. 21¹⁹ a curious reference, "Elhanan the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." It may be that there were two giants of the same name slain by two heroes of Bethlehem, or the name of Goliath may have been transferred from the second account to the first, in which the giant is frequently referred to as "the Philistine."

The account of David's flight is also involved. In 19¹¹ he is in hiding with the knowledge and complicity of Michal, but in 20⁵ he is still at court endeavouring to find out Saul's feelings towards him. Again, in 19¹⁻², Jonathan is bidden by Saul to slay David, but in 20² Jonathan is unaware of his father's designs.

Thus in reconstructing an account of David's life, choice must be made of those passages which cohere together. The following is a consecutive account of it from the first introduction of David to Saul to the fatal battle of Mount Gilboa. Many important questions on the episodes of 1 and 2 Samuel are raised on pp. 218-220, and to them the reader is referred.

David at the Court of Saul.

I S. 16¹⁴⁻²³. David introduced to Saul as a skilled harpist. He also becomes Saul's armour-bearer.

17^{1-11, 32-54}. War with the Philistines. David slays Goliath. (Rest of chapter is a parallel version of the same incident.)

18^{6-9, 12-16, 20-29a}. David's popularity, Saul's jealousy. Marriage with Michal.

19⁸⁻¹⁰. War with Philistines still on. Saul's jealousy increases and he attempts to kill David.

20¹⁻⁴². David, in uncertainty as to his future, interviews Jonathan, who finds out that Saul's enmity continues, and communicates this to David.

Flight of David.

I S. 21¹⁻⁹, 22¹⁻⁵. David at Nob and at Adullam.
22⁶⁻²³. Priests of Nob slain.

23¹⁻¹⁴. At Keilah. Saul's attempt to capture him.

25¹⁻⁴⁴. David, Nabal, and Abigail.

26. David spares Saul's life in the wilderness of Ziph. (There is a different version of David's magnanimity in 23^{19-24²²}.)

David and the Philistines.

I S. 27. David becomes a vassal of Achish, king of Gath.

28¹⁻³. Philistines intend to attack Israel.

29. David sent back to Ziklag.

30. His vengeance on the Amalekites.

Death of Saul.

- 1 S. 28³⁻²⁵. Saul, on the eve of battle, consults a witch at Endor.
31. Battle of Mt. Gilboa.
- 2 S. 1¹⁻⁵, 11-12, 17-27. David receives news of the death of Saul and Jonathan. His lament.

David as King.

- 2 S. 2^{1-4a}. David anointed king at Hebron.
- 2^{4b-7}. David thanks Jabesh-gilead.
- 2⁸⁻³², 3⁶⁻³⁹, 4. Civil war between David and Ish-bosheth. Latter assassinated.
- 5¹⁻³. David anointed king over Israel.
- 5⁶⁻¹². Capture of Jerusalem.
- ? 21¹⁻¹⁴, 24. Famine, the census and the pestilence (see pp. 219, 240, 241).
- 5¹⁷⁻²⁵. War with Philistines.
- ? 23¹³⁻¹⁷. The three heroes.
- 6¹⁻¹⁹. Ark taken to Jerusalem.
7. Nathan the prophet gives Jehovah's message that the king is not to build a house, *i.e.*, a temple for Jehovah, but that Jehovah will build a house, *i.e.* a dynasty for David.
- 2 S. 9-20, 1 K. 1-2. The public and private life of David written by a member of his court, and a contemporary.
9. Kindness to Mephibosheth.
- 10-12. War with Ammonites. Adultery with Bath-sheba. Murder of Uriah.
- 13-14. Absalom's revenge on Ammon, flight, return and pardon.
- 15-19. Absalom's rebellion and death.
20. Revolt of a Benjamite named Sheba.

1 Kings 1-2. Accession of Solomon. Death of David. Adonijah's attempt on the succession.

David in Jewish history was the ideal king ; so strongly was his personality impressed on national life that in later years his character was idealised ; *Chronicles* represents him as a saint, and one of the sources of 1 *Sam.* attributes to the prophet the words that David was "a man after God's own heart" (1 S. 13¹⁴, cf. Acts 13²²), a phrase often misunderstood to mean that God judged him, in spite of his many failings, to be sinless, and his life worthy of His unqualified approval. The phrase in its context means that David was worthy to rule the people of God and no more ; if it is given its wider implication it means that David, taking him altogether, was the symbol of an ideal ruler, generous, heroic, religious (cf. Jer. 23⁵⁻⁶).

The character of David has its dark as well as its bright side. He was guilty of immorality, stooped to deceit as at Ziklag and in his treatment of Uriah and Shimei and in his advice to Hushai, shewed ingratitude to Joab, and was guilty of indulgence towards his sons, Absalom and Adonijah, and even to Ammon ; he was cruel to his enemies, and would have destroyed Nabal's household. His faults were great, even though they were the faults of his age. But there are finer and nobler traits in his character ; his loyalty to Saul and his spirit of forgiveness towards a king who sought his life, his friendship with Jonathan, and his kindness to Mephibosheth ; his anxiety over Absalom, his generous regret for Abner, his gratitude to Barzillai ; the devotion and love he

wins from his soldiers and generals, and even from Saul. David's character, when weighed in the balance, is not found wanting.

In his religion, too, he had sensuous and limited ideas of Jehovah, and he allowed Michal to keep her teraphim, but, on the other hand, his faith was deeply rooted. He accepted misfortune with resignation, submitted to the rebukes of Nathan and Gad, shewed a prayerful attitude when Bathsheba's child was ill, and a faith in Jehovah's divine mercy when he was to be punished for the census ; and when he brought the Ark to Jerusalem his main desire was to exalt and praise Jehovah in a spirit of genuine religious enthusiasm.

As for his military genius, the whole history after his death bears witness to it. It was he who raised the kingdom to supremacy, and gave it a place among the powers of the world ; though helped by able generals, it was his own personal ascendancy which guided them to victory. He was never without resource, and under him the tribes became a nation ; in the reign of Saul there was no organised life, no advance of civilisation, and the king lived like a yeoman among his people ; but within half a century the prosperity, wealth and power of the nation excited the wonder of the Queen of Sheba. There is no period even in English history which in such a short period shews such a striking contrast.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the figure of David is unusually prominent in history, and that in the dark days that followed it was to David that the hopes and longings of the people were directed, and that to a scion of David's house the nation looked

for the restoration of their power and influence, and that the Messiah possessed as one of His distinctive titles that of "the Son of David." It was David who realised an ideal of kingship, an ideal lost with the captivity but revived in its fulness by our Lord. The story of the rise and fall and revival of the idea of kingship is the basis of the genealogy in S. Matthew's Gospel (I^{6, 11, 16}).

1 AND 2 KINGS.

These books were compiled by writers of the Deuteronomic school, with their definite theory that history must subserve the demand of Jehovah, that the nation must be loyal to Him. The theory is to be seen in the constant reiteration of Jehovah's claims in the formulae placed at the beginning and end of reigns, the constant remarks that the high places were not taken away, and worship therefore not confined to the central sanctuary; the frequent insistence that faithfulness to Jehovah was rewarded, and unfaithfulness punished. Practically all the history which is given is trustworthy; there were many sources which the compilers drew on, such as the Acts of Solomon and David, books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah, a Court History of David, and biographies of Elijah and Elisha, etc.

Solomon's reign; details not in chronological order
(B.C. 971-932).

I Kings 3⁴⁻¹⁵. Dream at Gibeon, representing his intention to rule wisely.

I Kings 3¹⁶⁻²⁸. His wisdom (which here means his cleverness in judgments and speech).

4²⁹⁻³⁴. His wisdom or skill in the literary sphere.

5¹⁻¹⁸. Preparations for building the temple.

8¹⁻¹³. Dedication of the Temple.

8¹⁴⁻⁶¹. Prayer at the dedication ; compiled by D-ic writer, who gives his version of the vision of Solomon.

9¹⁵⁻²³. The Corvée or forced labour.

10¹⁻¹³. Munificence and extravagance of the king. Visit of the Queen of Sheba.

11¹⁻¹³. Solomon's religious failings and lapse into idolatry.

11¹⁴⁻⁴⁰. Political troubles.

Jeroboam I., King of Israel (B.C. 932-912).

I Kings 11^{26-32a, 40}, 12¹⁻²⁰. Jeroboam's antecedents and revolt.

12²⁵⁻³¹, 13^{33b, 34}, 12³²⁻³³. Jeroboam's organisation of worship. (See pp. 92, 219.)

14^{1-6, 12, 17}. Death of his son. (Rest of vv. to 20 are by D.)

Succession of weak kings in Israel and Judah until Omri founds a dynasty in Israel, builds Samaria, and is succeeded by Ahab.

I Kings 17¹⁻², 18, 19, 21. Life of Elijah, from special source. (See Conception of God, pp. 93-99, and Miracles, pp. 167-171, and Ques. pp. 219-220.)

Ahab, King of Israel (B.C. 876-855).

I Kings 20¹⁻³⁴. Siege and relief of Samaria. Benhadad, King of Syria, surrenders.

- 1 Kings 22¹⁻⁴⁰. Benhadad breaks treaty, and is attacked by Ahab and Jehoshaphat, King of Judah. Death of Ahab.
 - 2 Kings 3. Invasion and conquest of Moab.
 - 6²⁴–7²⁰. Siege of Samaria by Syrians.
 - 9, 10. Anointing of *Jehu* to be King of Israel (843–816 B.C.).
 - The revolution; murder of Jezebel.
 - Massacre of the princes and of the Baal worshippers.
 11. Revolution in Jerusalem, led by Jehoiada the priest.
 - 12⁴⁻¹⁶. Repair of the temple.
 - 14²³⁻²⁹. *Jeroboam II.*, King of Israel (785–745 B.C.). *Uzziah*, King of Judah (790–735) see pp. 99, 100, 108–111.
- Syrian wars ended after nearly 100 years,

After the death of Jeroboam II., anarchy and civil war in northern kingdom. Kings assassinated. Assyria intervenes (15¹⁹⁻²⁰) more than once, and then seizes the kingdom and deports the people of Galilee (15²⁹⁻³⁰). Attempts had been made to coerce *Ahaz*, King of Judah, into joining a coalition, but Ahaz seeks the help of Assyria (see pp. 111–117 and 2 K. 16⁵⁻⁹). Samaria is at last besieged by Assyria and captured in 722 B.C., an event which made such an impression that the D-ic editor wrote his reflections on it (2 K. 17⁷⁻²³) and inserted an account of the origin of the Samaritans (17²⁴⁻⁴¹). The reign of Ahaz shews us the evil effect of the Assyrian influence on religion (16¹⁻⁵).

Judah, B.C. 720-587.

2 Kings 18¹⁷-20¹⁹ (almost identical with Isaiah 36-39). *Hezekiah's reign* (720-692).

18¹³⁻¹⁶. Annalistic account of Assyrian invasion.

18¹⁷-19³⁵. Prophetic account of Assyrian invasion.

20¹⁻¹¹. Hezekiah's illness. (See Miracles, pp. 176, 177.)

20¹²⁻¹⁹. Embassy from Babylon.

18¹⁻⁸. Attempted reformation of religion.

21¹⁻¹⁸. Long reign of *Manasseh* (692-638). Assyrian power at its zenith. Manasseh's vassalage and the idolatrous practices of the reign (see Index).

22¹-23³⁰. *Reign of Josiah* (637-607).

2 Kings 22³⁻²⁶. Discovery of a law book, the Deuteronomic code.

23¹⁻³. Covenant not with, but before Jehovah.

23⁴⁻¹⁵. Reformation of religion as laid down in the central section of Deuteronomy.

23²¹⁻²⁷. Passover observed at central sanctuary, as ordered in Deut.

23²⁸⁻³⁰. Josiah's death at Megiddo in battle against Egypt.

23³¹⁻³⁵. Jehoahaz dies a prisoner in Egypt (see Ezekiel 19).

23³⁶-24⁷. Jehoiakim put on throne by Egypt (607-597). Fall of Nineveh early in reign. Assyrian empire divided. Chaldeans (under Nebuchadnezzar) seize Syria

from Egypt after a great victory at Carchemish (B.C. 605). The prophet Jeremiah's activity (pp. 117-123). Jehoiakim's revolt.

Rest of history written during the Captivity, also by the D-ic school.

2 Kings 24⁸⁻¹⁷. Jehoiachin's short reign. Siege of Jerusalem. First deportation of exiles (B.C. 597).

24¹⁸⁻²⁵²¹. Zedekiah, king (597-587). Final captivity in Babylon (see pp. 123-126), and Jer. 27, 51.

25²²⁻²⁶. Gedaliah (see 2 K. 22¹², Jer. 26²⁴) appointed Governor by Babylon. Read Jer. 39¹¹⁻⁴³⁷.

25²⁷⁻³⁰. Release of Jehoiachin. Hope for the future.

The Return from the Exile.

Ezra-Nehemiah is the authority for the purely narrative history of the century which followed the return from exile; it was a book compiled and edited by the Priestly school from official records and lists, and from the personal memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The following is an outline of the years from 538-432, fragmentary and incomplete, with gaps of many years when nothing is recorded:

B.C. 538. Fall of Babylon before Cyrus, King of Persia.

536. Ezra 1-3. Cyrus gives permission to Jews to return and rebuild Temple. First band of exiles under Sheshbazzar, also called

Zerub-babel. Altar of Jehovah built. Feast of Tabernacles kept. Foundations of Temple laid.

Ezra 4^{1-5, 24}. Opposition of Samaritans. Temple left incompleted. Preaching of Haggai and Zechariah (1-8) in reign of Darius.

520. 5-6¹⁸. Rebuilding of Temple. Suspicion of Persian governors. Appeal to Darius.

516. Temple completed. Celebration of Pass-over.

(Blank in history for fifty years.)

Story of Esther. Xerxes, king (485-464 B.C.).

458. 7-10. In reign of Artaxerxes, a second body of exiles returns under Ezra, whose chief aim was to teach the law. Intermarriage with foreigners checked.

4⁷⁻²³. Attempt to build the walls of Jerusalem. Stopped by Samaritans and Persian officials. Walls destroyed and gates burned. Ezra retires into obscurity.

444. Neh. 1-7, 11, 12. Nehemiah obtains permission to build walls. Opposition overcome. Grievances redressed and city re-peopled.

8-10. Religious revival helped by Ezra. Priestly code of laws promulgated. Feast of Tabernacles kept.

432. 13. Nehemiah's second visit. Many abuses dealt with.

The Persian empire succeeded by the Grecian ; after the death of Alexander the Great, the Kings of

Syria ruled Palestine, and Antiochius IV. (Epiphanes) became king (175-164) and oppressed the Jews.

I Maccabees 1¹⁰-2⁷⁰. The oppression and revolt under Mattathias (died 167).

3¹-6⁵⁵. Judas Maccabeus continues revolt.

Religious freedom secured, 165 B.C.

Book of Daniel composed between 168-165 B.C.

QUESTIONS III.

Genesis.

1. What historical incidents may lie behind the repulsive stories of Lot and his daughters, Dinah, Judah and Tamar?
2. What reasons are there for concluding that "the blessing of Jacob" (Gen. 49¹⁻²⁷) is of late origin?
3. What allusions to the nomadic life of the Patriarchs are made in *Genesis*?
4. What is the value of the genealogy of the sons of Noah in Gen. 10 and 11?

Exodus.

1. How many difficulties did Moses overcome before he acknowledged his call to lead the Israelites out of Egypt?
2. How many accounts are there of the institution of the Feasts of the Passover and of Unleavened Bread?
3. How many representations are given of the pillar of cloud?
4. What different expressions are used of the tables of stone?

5. Aaron made a molten calf. Why then are the words "These be thy gods" used? (Ex. 32⁴⁻⁵.)
6. Why was Moses excluded from the Promised Land?
7. What difficulties are found in the accounts of :
 - (a) The Theophany on Mt. Sinai. (Ex. 19.)
 - (b) The receiving of the Tables of Stone. (Ex. 24.)
 - (c) The story of the Golden Calf. (Ex. 32¹⁻³⁵.)
 - (d) The stay of the Israelites at Kadesh?

Joshua and Judges.

1. What contradictions exist in the following incidents as recorded in these books?
 - (a) The memorial stones. (Josh. 4.)
 - (b) Rahab. (Josh. 2, 6²²⁻²⁷.)
 - (c) The capture of Ai. (Josh. 8.)
 - (d) The battle of Beth-horon. (Josh. 10.)
 - (e) Deborah's victory. (Jg. 4 and 5.)
 - (f) Gideon's life. (Jg. 6-8.)
 - (g) The story of Jephthah. (Jg. 11-12⁷.)
 - (h) The story of Micah. (Jg. 17 and 18.)
 - (i) The war against Benjamin. (Jg. 19¹-21²⁵.)
2. Was Samson a Nazarite?

Samuel and Kings.

1. What errors due to copyists are to be found in the following verses?
 - 1 Sam. 1^{24, 25}, 4⁸, 13¹, 26²⁰.
 - 2 Sam. 15⁷, 21⁸.
2. What anachronisms are involved in these statements?
 - (a) "For the ark of God was there at that time with the children of Israel." 1 S. 14¹⁸.

(b) "And David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Jerusalem." 1 S. 17⁵⁴.

(c) "Is not this David the king of the land?" 1 S. 21¹¹.

3. What evidence does the song of Hannah supply to prove that it was a later composition? (1 S. 2¹⁻¹⁰.)
4. Was the account of the capture of the Ark by the Philistines composed by the same writer who wrote the early chapters of Samuel? (1 S. 4^{1b-7¹}.)
5. Did Samuel compose his farewell address? (1 S. 12¹⁻²⁵.)
6. In the incident of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, what name if substituted for "Samuel" in v. 12 will explain the incident more clearly? (1 S. 28.)
7. How many reasons are given why David did not build the Temple?
8. How many versions are there of David's receipt of news of the death of Saul and Jonathan?
9. Had Absalom any children?
10. How did Absalom meet with his death?
11. On what grounds is the story of the man of God and the false prophet given in 1 K. 13¹⁻³⁴ held to be untrustworthy?
12. Of the versions which relate David's chivalrous act in sparing Saul's life, why is that of 1 S. 26 preferable to that of 1 S. 23^{19-24²²}?
13. What historical value may be placed on the appendix of 2 Samuel?
14. How may the incident of David's census and the three days' pestilence be explained?

15. Is 2 K. 1^{2-17a} drawn from the same prophetic source as the narratives of Elijah in 1 Kings?
16. What age, according to Chronicles, was Ahaz when Hezekiah his son and heir was born?
17. What contradictions are involved in the following?
1 K. 8^{22, 54}; 12²⁴, 14³⁰; 18^{30, 32}; 19^{11a, 13}; 21^{21-24, 29, 22³⁸}, 2 K. 9^{24, 25}; 2 K. 6^{23, 24}; 14^{2, 23}, 15¹; 24¹².
Jeremiah 52²⁸; 24^{14, 16}.

ANSWERS

QUESTIONS I.

- I. (a) The words of a writer who lived when the Canaanites were no longer in the land, *i.e.* after Solomon's conquests. Josh. 16¹⁰, Jg. 1²⁷⁻³³, 2 S. 24⁷, 1 K. 9¹⁶.
- (b) The Hebrew for South is Negeb, the southern tract of Judah. The words "toward the South" could only be used by a writer in Palestine, and not therefore by Moses.
- (c) The name Dan was given to the city Laish after the settlement in Canaan. Josh. 19⁴⁷, Jg. 18²⁹.
- (d) The Philistines did not settle in Canaan till after the Exodus and therefore it is an anachronism to say that Abraham and Isaac were in "the land of the Philistines."
- (e) Abraham is called a prophet, a term not used before the days of Samuel. (1 S. 9⁹.)
- (f) Moses had not seen the well or Rachel's pillar and yet the verses presuppose that he knew that the Canaanites had preserved them "unto this day." These last words imply a long interval.
- (g) The term "in Israel" implies an ordered community of Israel and could not have been spoken by Jacob or written by Moses.

- (h) The words presuppose a knowledge of the existence of kings in Israel, which was only possible many centuries after Moses.
 - (i) An anachronism for Canaan. The Hebrews had not yet conquered Canaan.
 - (j) The verses contemplate the children of Israel as no longer in the land, but in captivity.
 - (k) Beyond Jordan is the East of Jordan. Moses did not cross the river.
 - (l) The bedstead of Og is referred to as an antique. Moses could not speak of it thus as he died a few months after Og.
 - (m) In cc. 1-30 Moses has spoken in the first person, and the words, "and Moses wrote" suggest a change of writers.
 - (n) The words imply a long settlement in Canaan.
 - (o) Moses could not have written an account of his own death.
 - (p) Moses could not have written such laudatory words of himself.
2. (a) In the Song of the Red Sea, vv. 13-17 speak of Israel's guidance through the wilderness to the Promised Land, and their settlement in it, with the sanctuary established in the place which Jehovah made for Him to dwell in (cf. 1 K. 8¹³).
- (b) The book of the wars of the LORD probably included many poems in praise of David of whom it is specially said that he fought "the battles of the LORD" (1 S. 18¹⁷, 25²⁸).
 - (c) The incidents in Num. 21 from which the quotation is made describe the last seven months of the life of Moses. (Num. 33³⁸⁻³⁹, Deut. 34⁷.) Therefore there was no need to refer to a book

or poem if Num. 21 was written by Moses or by a writer who lived shortly after.

- (d) The words are from the Song of Moses (Deut. 32), which bears constant reference to its being composed during the monarchy; v. 7 speaks of the Exodus and settlement as belonging to the days of old by many generations, vv. 13-18 of Israel's apostasy since their settlement, vv. 22-25, 30, 36 to great disasters in warfare such as the Israelites experienced at the hands of Syria or Assyria or the Chaldeans.
- (e) The Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), could not have been written by Moses from the reference to him by name in v. 4. It speaks of the conquest of Canaan in vv. 27, 28, as an event of the past. It was evidently written by a northerner after the disruption of the kingdom, for the writer looks forward to Judah being reunited (v. 7), and gives a *resumé* of the prosperity of the northern kingdom (vv. 26-29). Again Levi is a priestly caste and this points to a date after Josiah.
The Blessing should be compared with the earlier "Blessing of Jacob" in Gen. 49.
- (f) The Book of Jashar is quoted in *Joshua*. If Joshua wrote the book that bears his name, it is strange that he should quote an ancient saying instead of giving his own account of his victory at Beth-horon. The Book of Jashar also contains David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan.
- (g) In Deut. 34¹⁰, Moses is called a prophet. The word "prophet" did not come into use till the time of Samuel.
- (h) The equal distribution of spoil did not become a statute till David's time, but the principle is ascribed to Moses in Num. 31²⁷.

3. (a) Three. 17^{17} P, 18^{12} J, 21^6 E.
 (b) Two. 17^{16-19} P, 18^{10-15} J.
 (c) Two. 16^{4-14} J, 21^{9-21} E.
 (d) Two. 16^{10-11} J, 21^{17-18} E.
 (e) Two. 30^{16} J, 30^{18} E.
 (f) Two. 30^{20a} E, 30^{20b} J.
 (g) Two. 30^{23} E, 30^{24} J.
 (h) Two. 35^{18-19} J, 35^{25-26} P.
4. (a) Sarah was at least ninety years old (Gen. 17^{17} P), and well advanced in years (18^{11-12} J).
 (b) Isaac was about 80 years on his deathbed, a result which follows if $26^{34,35}$, 27^{1-45} , 27^{4b} are from one source.
- 25^{26} . Isaac was 60 when his twin sons were born. (P.)
- 26^{34} . Isaac was 100 when his sons were 40; this was Esau's age when he married heathen wives. (P.)
- 27^1 . Isaac expects to die soon and gives his blessing. (J.)
- 27^{46} . Jacob was sent away lest he should follow his brother's example and take strange wives (P)—This must have been soon after Esau's marriage, when Isaac was about 100, if v. 46 follows v. 45 chronologically.
- 35^{28} . Isaac died when he was 180 years old. (P.)
- (c) Yes. In Gen. 25^1 (J) Abraham marries Keturah who bears him six children. Gen. 17^{17} is from P.
- (d) According to Ex. 7^7 (P) forty years. But in Ex. 2^{23} , the Pharaoh of the Exodus came to the throne soon after the flight of Moses, and in $4^{20, 25}$ Gershom, the son of Moses is still young when Moses returned to Egypt (J).

(e) If the judges followed in regular succession, the period of years involved is 410. Eli judged for 40 years, Samuel 20 at least, Saul was king for some years, David reigned 40 and therefore the total from the Exodus to the fourth year of Solomon was more than 550 (=wanderings 40 + Joshua's rule + 410 + Saul's reign + 100 as above). This is inconsistent with 1 K. 6¹, which gives 480 years from the Exodus to the fourth year of Solomon.

(f) 2666. (= 1656 to Flood + 290 to birth of Abraham + 100 to birth of Isaac + 60 to birth of Jacob + 130 to descent into Egypt + 430 in Egypt).

5. Genesis. J, PJ (Ed.), J, J, J, E, P,
 Exodus. P, J, E, P, P, J, E, J or D, J, P, J, J, D,
 P, P.
 Numbers. P, J, P, E, P, P, JE, P.
 Joshua. D, JE, P, D, D, P, J, P, D.

6. (a) Samuel an Ephraimite is in *Chr.* a Levite to fit in with the theory that only Levites were singers in the Temple.
- (b) As Obed-edom is a foreigner, the Chronicler altered the expression "in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite" into "by the house of Obed-edom in its own house." The ark could not have rested, he said, in the house of a Philistine.
- (c) In *Chr.* David is ideal in morals and religion. Hence to make David keep the law, the expression "took away images" is altered to "burned with fire."
- (d) All features discreditable to David are curtailed, and those worthy of the King are expanded, especially in 1 C. 21^{1, 6, 25}, which should be compared with 2 S. 24^{1, 2, 24}.

- (e) The twin pillars are 18 cubits high in 1 K. and 35 in 2 C.
 - (f) "Walk before me" is altered to "walk in my law" to bring in a reference to the Law.
 - (g) To the Chronicler the idea of 1 K. 9¹¹⁻¹³ that the wealthy Solomon gave cities to Hiram in exchange for wood and gold was repugnant; he therefore altered his source to mean that Hiram gave the cities to Solomon who fortified them.
 - (h) By continuous clerical alteration the original words "the top of the throne was round about" became "with a footstool of gold."
 - (i) The Chronicler makes Asa who did right in the eyes of the LORD remove the high places 2 C. 14³ as against 1 K. 22⁴³, but forgets he has done so in 15¹⁷.
 - (j) Jehoshaphat is represented like Asa in (i).
7. (a) Deut. 5²¹, 21¹⁰⁻¹⁴, 22¹³⁻³⁰. (b) 6⁶, 8, 20.
 8. In Exodus 22¹⁸⁻²⁷, 23¹⁻⁹.
 9. Gen. 11³¹, 20¹². Sarah is the daughter-in-law of Terah (P) and the daughter of Terah (E).
 Gen. 35¹⁸⁻¹⁹ (J). Benjamin is born near Bethlehem, but in 35²⁵⁻²⁶ (P) at Paddan-aram.
 Gen. 35¹⁹, 37¹⁰. Rachel is dead (J) and is alive (E).
 Gen. 46^{8,20}. The names of Joseph and his sons cannot rightly be included in a list of those who came into Egypt (P). Joseph's sons were born in Egypt.
 Gen. 46^{8,27b} (P) Ex. 1⁵, the seventy souls did not include Jacob, whilst in D, the seventy included Jacob. In Acts 7¹⁴ the number is 75.
 Exodus 1^{9,10}, 12^{37,38} (J). There were two million Israelites in Egypt, but only two midwives to attend to the births (1¹⁵ E).

- Ex. 2¹, 7⁷. Moses is the firstborn (E), yet Aaron is three years his senior (P).
- Ex. 2¹⁸, 3¹, 4¹⁸. Num, 10²⁹, Jg. 4¹¹. The father-in-law of Moses is variously named Reuel, Jethro (E), Hobab (J).
- Ex. 3¹⁸, 4²³, 7². In J a temporary release and in P an unconditional release is demanded from the Pharaoh.
- Ex. 4¹⁶, 7¹. In J, Aaron is the spokesman of Moses before the people, and Moses is as God to him; in P, Aaron is to be the prophet of Moses before the Pharaoh, and Moses a god to the Pharaoh.
- Ex. 4^{1-9, 17}. In 4¹⁻⁹ (J), only one sign is to be done with the rod, whilst in 4¹⁷ (E) all the signs are to be performed with it.
- Ex. 4¹⁸⁻¹⁹. Two different reasons are given why Moses returned to Egypt (E and J respectively). In v. 19 he is commanded to do that which in v. 18 he has determined to do.
- Ex. 4^{20a}. Moses returns to Egypt (J), in vv. 21, 27 he has not yet returned (E).
- Ex. 4^{20a}, 18⁵. Moses takes his wife and two sons into Egypt (J), whilst in E he is joined by them later.
- Ex. 4³⁰⁻³¹, 6⁹. The people believe Moses (J) and do not hearken to him (P).
- Ex. 5¹⁻², 6^{12, 30}. Moses had seen the Pharaoh (E) and yet says he had not (P).
- Ex. 10^{3, 6, 7}. Moses and Aaron go in unto the Pharaoh, but only Moses goes out (J), "and Aaron" in v. 3 is inserted by the Editor (P). (Cf. 10^{16, 18}.)
- Ex. 12¹⁴, 13⁶. Feast of unleavened bread is on the first day in P, and on the seventh in J.
- Ex. 24^{1-2, 9-12}. Moses is bidden to come up to the mount (J) and does so, but in v. 12 (E) he is again commanded to come up where he already is.

Ex. 24⁴, D 16²². Moses erects pillars (E) though forbidden to do so (D).

Ex. 33^{4b, 5}. People are told to do what they have already done.

Num. 20¹, D 1⁴⁶, 21¹⁴. In Num. the stay at Kadesh lasted 38 years, in D the stay is short and is followed by 38 years' wanderings.

Num. 22^{9-12, 20}. Balaam goes with (E) and without (J) God's permission.

Num. 22^{21, 22}. Balaam goes with princes of Moab (E), and with two servants only (J).

QUESTIONS II.

1. Deut. 24¹⁶; second commandment.
2. Deut. 21²²⁻²³; 14¹.
3. The prophets of the eighth and following centuries were much greater prophets than those previous to their times. The mere fact that no miracle is associated with them (on the sun dial, see pp. 176, 177) makes their records of greater worth; many of their prophecies were committed to writing by themselves, and many by their disciples; no miracles are mentioned because there were none to be mentioned, and the evidence being contemporaneous is evidence that very little credence can be given to miracles connected with their predecessors of a lower order in the line of prophets.
4. Yes. In Hag. 2^{7, 21}, the prophet speaks of a shaking of the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry land and of all nations; he is thinking of political convulsions in the East which will precede the advent of the Messiah through the overthrow of the heathen dynasties.

5. Joel conceives that the Day of Jehovah will be preceded by a fearful plague of locusts accompanied by a drought.
6. (a) The phraseology is different, *e.g.* in 1-8. "Thus saith Jehovah" occurs 23 times, in 9-14 only once.
- (b) The interests are different; instead of the Temple and Judah's future (1-8), we find references to evil rulers.
- (c) The Messianic age is differently conceived.
- (d) Cc. 9-14 bear traces of being a post-exilic production and there is a reference to Greece in 9¹³.
7. The Chaldeans are spoken of not as a nation, but as a scholarly class among the Babylonians.

In Dan. 1², Jehoiakim is taken captive to Babylon in the third year of his reign which is at variance with 2 K. 23³⁶ and Jeremiah 25¹.

The word "satraps" is Persian and not Babylonian and its use in Dan. is an anachronism.

There is no trace in history that Nebuchadnezzar was insane for seven years. The story is rather founded on a tradition of a popular kind, a form of which is stated in an Assyrian history written about 200 A.D.

Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar (5²); the latter's successor was Evil-merodach (2 K. 25²⁷, Jeremiah 52³¹).

In Dan. Darius the Mede reigned over Babylon before Cyrus the Persian, but this is against Is. 40-48, where Cyrus overthrew not a Persian but a Babylonian Dynasty and also against any known secular history of the times.

8. According to Prof. Charles, the four Empires are:
The Babylonian = the head of gold (c. 2), the lion with eagle's wings (c. 7).

The Median =silver breast and arms (c. 2),
the bear with three ribs in its mouth (c. 7),
the first and shorter horn of ram (c. 8).

The Persian =brass belly and thighs (c. 2),
the leopard with four wings (c. 7), the second
and higher horn of ram (c. 8).

The Greek =iron legs, feet and toes, partly
iron, partly clay (c. 2), the beast with iron
teeth, and ten horns among which arose a
little horn (c. 7), the goat with one horn
followed by four horns out of which arose a
little horn (c. 8).

9. (a) The scene of the miracle was the valley of the sandy pits, in which, owing to the rocky layers underneath, water from the hills accumulates and is obtainable by digging. The reflection of the sun gave the water in the pits an appearance of blood and led the Moabites to infer that the allies had fallen out.

(b) The gourd was probably the bottle-gourd which is noted as a speedy grower. The statement that it grew up in one night (4¹⁰) is a bit of natural exaggeration. Notice the anthropomorphisms.

10. Obadiah 1, 2, 3a, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9^a = Jeremiah 49¹⁴, 15, 16a, 16b, 9, 10, 7b, 22b, respectively.

One may have copied the prophecies from the other, or both made use of an earlier prophecy, or the passage may have been inserted in Jeremiah at a later age. The latter alternatives are the most likely.

QUESTIONS III.

Genesis.

1. The story of Lot and his daughters probably represents a belief that the tribes of Moab and Ammon originated from a common ancestor.

Dinah may stand for the name of a weak tribe of Israel which united with Shechem clans to its detriment. Simeon and Levi attempted to rescue their sister tribe and massacred the Shechemites but were in turn overcome by Canaanites.

The story of Tamar probably preserves a tradition that the tribe of Judah was composed of other than Hebrews, for the wife of Judah was a Canaanite and the marriage therefore means the entrance of Canaanite clans into the tribe.

2. The poem deals with tribal not individual history, and the historical situation implied is that of the monarchy. In it Judah and Joseph are royal tribes; to the former belongs the monarchy and the ideal king, whilst the latter is attacked by foes. Levi is not a priestly tribe.
3. The patriarchs dwell in tents near wells and springs (cc. 13, 18, 24, 25, 26, 31), and possess sheep and cattle in abundance (12^{16} , 13^2 ⁵, 26^{14} , 32^7); Jacob is a skilled shepherd and his sons follow the same pursuit. The Israelites in Egypt inhabit Goshen, a pasture land.
4. The genealogy is ethnographical and not geographical. It gives the names of the various peoples who were believed to have been descendants of Noah.

Exodus.

1. Four. He was unfit to be a leader (3^{11-12} E) and did not know God's name (3^{13-22} E); he feared the Israelites would not listen (4^{1-9} J), and he was not fluent in speech (4^{10-17} J).
2. Two. P= 12^{1-13} Passover, 12^{14-20} Mazzoth (unleavened bread), 12^{43-51} Passover (supplementary), 13^{1-2} Dedication of first born.

J = 12²¹⁻²⁸ Passover, 13³⁻¹⁰ Mazzoth, 13¹¹⁻¹⁶
Dedication of first born.

3. Three. In J, the pillar of cloud by day and fire by night precedes the people (Ex. 13²¹⁻²², 14^{19b}, Num. 14^{14b}, Deut. 1³³).

In E, the pillar of cloud descends and stands at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, and Jehovah speaks in it to Moses (Ex. 33⁹. Num. 11²⁵, 12⁵).

In P, the cloud covers the tent when it is set up and moves with the camp (Ex. 40³⁴⁻³⁸, Num. 9¹⁵⁻²², 10¹¹).

4. E uses "tables of stone" (Ex. 24¹², 31^{18b}), P, "the two tables of the testimony" (Ex. 31^{18a}, 32^{15a}, 34²⁹), J "the two tables of stones" (Ex. 34^{1, 4}). D uses "the two tables of stones" and "the tables of the covenant" (Deut. 9^{9, 11, 15}).

5. Almost the same words are used in 1 K. 12²⁸, with reference to the calves set up by Jeroboam. The account in Exodus is from the E source, and the writer is for Jerusalem as against Dan and Bethel of the northern kingdom, and in condemning Aaron he inserted the plural to make a covert hit at the calf worship of the north.

6. In Numbers 20²...we are told that it was through lack of faith on the part of Moses, but in Deut. 1³⁷, 3²⁶, 4²¹, the words "for *your* sakes," suggest that Moses suffered with the people for the offence of the latter at the return of the spies.

7. (a) In v. 3^a Moses goes up into the mount, and in v. 3^b he seems to be below.

In vv. 14-19 the people have sanctified themselves and the theophany has begun, but in v. 20 *seq.*, Moses is called up the Mount again to receive further instructions, which ought to have been given before.

In v. 25, where the correct rendering is, "and Moses said unto them," no words are given to tell us what Moses said.

Now the sequel to 3^a where Moses goes up, is v. 14, where he comes down, and the sequel to v. 19, "God answered him by a voice," is 20¹, "And God spake these words and said."

We may therefore distinguish two parallel versions :

E = 2^b-3^a, 10-11^a, 14-17, 19.

J = 3^b-9, 11^b-13, 18, 20-25.

The sequel to E of this chapter is 20¹⁻²¹, and to J is 24^{1-2, 9-11}.

- (b) In 20²¹ Moses remains on the mountain whilst God delivers further instructions (20²²⁻²³³³), but when the words are completed he is commanded to come up where he already is (24¹).

Now, the natural sequel to 23³³ is 24³⁻⁸, where Moses communicates the words to the people.

Again, in vv. 9-11, Moses is once more on the mount, but in v. 12 he is ordered up. Now v. 12 would follow v. 8, where he is below, and vv. 9-12 is the continuation of vv. 1-2, in both of which Moses is on the mount. Hence the two parallel versions are

E = 20²¹-23³³, 24^{3-8, 12-15a, 18b}.

J = 24^{1-2, 9-11}.

P = 15^b-18^a. (This is evident from the style of these verses.)

- (c) In vv. 21-24, Aaron's admission of his guilt, in answer to the questions of Moses, leads to no further action.

Whilst in vv. 27-34^a punishment is inflicted on the idolaters, in 34^b further punishment is threatened, which is not that of v. 35.

Again, in v. 9 God tells Moses he intends to destroy the people, but in vv. 31-35 Moses is ignorant of it.

E = 1-8, 15-24, 35.

J = 25-34.

Editor's insertion = 9-14.

(d) See Ques. I. 9 on Num. 20¹, Deut. 1^{4b}, 2¹, 14.

Joshua and Judges.

(a) In 4^{1-3, 8}, twelve stones are taken out of the bed of the river and set up in the lodging-place at Gilgal. The people are on the western bank.

In 4⁴⁻⁷, a similar command to the above is given, but the people are to shoulder the stones on the western bank.

In 4⁹, the twelve stones are set up in the bed of the river and are there unto this day.

Again, in 3^{16, 17}, 4^{1a}, people have clean passed over Jordan, but in 4⁴, they are still on the western bank and have not yet started; they do not pass over till 4^{10b}.

(b) Rahab's house is on the wall, and yet she and her household escape destruction: 6²² implies that her house was still standing. The latter half of 2¹⁵ is omitted in the LXX.

If the spies' visit was secret, the public discussion between them and Rahab in 2¹⁵⁻²² is strange. Besides, in vv. 15 and 16 the spies seem to have made their escape, but in vv. 18-21 they are still discussing the situation with Rahab.

Rahab's deliverance is twice described in 6²²⁻²³ and 6²⁵.

(The separation into sources is difficult. The D-ic editor supplied Josh. 1, 2¹⁰⁻¹¹, 3^{2-4, 6-9}, 4^{9, 10, 12, 14, 21-24}, 5^{1, 4-7}. From P comes 4^{13, 19}, 5¹⁰⁻¹². The rest is JE.)

- (c) In v. 9, 30,000 men are in ambush between Bethel and Ai, on the west of Ai, but in v. 12, 5,000 men go there, and these seem ignorant of the presence of the larger body.

In vv. 16, 17, following the plan of vv. 3-9, the Israelites feign a retreat, but in v. 15 they are beaten.

In vv. 5, 19, Ai is burnt by the men in ambush, but in v. 28 by Joshua.

In vv. 20, 21, 25, we have "men of Ai," and in vv. 24, 26, "inhabitants of Ai."

J = 1a, 2b-11, 14, 16, 17, 19-23, 25, 29.

E = 12, 15, 18, 24, 26.

Editor's insertions = 1b-2a, 13, 27, 28.

- (d) In v. 10 the Allies are chased up Beth-horon as far as Makkedah, in v. 11 they fly down the hill towards Azekah.

In vv. 12, 13, there is a prolonged action after the battle is over, whilst in v. 11 a hailstorm overwhelms the enemy and there is no further action.

(On the sun standing still, see pp. 172, 173.)

In vv. 23-26 the King of Hebron is put to death, and in v. 37 he is again smitten with the sword.

J = 1a, 2-3, 5b-6a, 7a, 9-10, 12a, 12c-14, 16-19a, 21-24, 26-27.

E = 1c, 4, 5a, 6b, 11.

Editor = 1b, 7b, 8, 12b, 15, 19b-20, 25, 28-43.

- (e) Differences exist between the prose and poem versions. In the former, Sisera is a captain of Jabin, whilst in the song, Sisera is a king, not a captain (vv. 19, 29), and Jabin is not mentioned.

In the prose account, two tribes unite, whilst in the poem there are five.

In the former, Deborah is of the tribe of Ephraim and Barak of Naphthali, but in the latter both are of the tribe of Issachar.

The poem is very ancient, and historically gives the more reliable narrative. It is curious that in c. 4 Jabin takes no part in the battle and allows the Canaanites to muster within a few miles of Hazor; it is quite possible that Jabin was introduced into the prose-version from Josh. 11¹⁻¹⁵.

(f) In 6¹¹⁻²⁴ there is no idea of national apostasy, yet to it are attributed the existing calamities (vv. 7-10, 25-32).

In 6³⁵, four tribes join before the battle, but in 7²³ three tribes join after the battle, when the pursuit is on.

In 6¹⁻⁸³ the whole action is national, whilst in 8⁴⁻²¹ Gideon is taking a personal revenge, not against Oreb and Zeeb, but against Zebah and Salmanna.

In 6²⁶, though an altar has been built to Jehovah (6²⁴) a new altar is erected.

There are four traditions of Gideon's intercourse with Jehovah, 6³⁶, 7²⁻³, 7⁴⁻⁸, 7⁹.

E = 6^{7-10, 25-33, 35-40}, 7^{1-7, 8bc, 9-15, 17b, 18, 19, 20a, 22, 23, 84-27}.

J = 6^{11-24, 34}, 7^{16, 17a, 20b, 21, 24, 25}, 8¹⁻³.

Editor = 6¹⁻⁶, 7^{8a}, 8²⁸.

(g) In 11² Jephthah is expelled by the legitimate children of his father, in 11^{7, 9} by the elders of Midian.

In 11^{11, 30} he is in Mizpah, in 11²⁹ he passes over Mizpah.

In 10⁹ Ammonites cross the Jordan and invade Ephraim, etc.; the subsequent conduct of Ephraim is inconsistent with an invasion of their territory.

In 11¹³⁻²⁸, the references are to Moab, not Ammon, and they seem to reproduce Num. 20 and 21.

J = 11^{1, 3-11, 29}, 12¹⁻⁶.

E = 11^{12-28, 30, 31, 34-40}.

Editor = 11^{2, 32, 33}, 12⁷.

- (h) The nature of the image is differently described; in 17²⁻⁴, 18²⁰ it is a graven and molten image, made by Micah from money stolen from his mother, and in 17⁵ it is an ephod and teraphim. The sacred objects are therefore sometimes four in number, sometimes less (18^{20, 30, 31}).

When the sanctuary is spoiled, the priest and 600 men stand at the entrance of the village while the spies enter the house in 18¹⁷, but in 18^{18, 19} the priest is at the door of the house.

In 17⁷ the Levite is a youth sojourning in Micah's village, but in 17⁸ he is the man who chances to arrive at Micah's house.

In 18^{2b} the spies arrive at Micah's house and stay the night, but in 18³ they are near the house and turn aside from it.

- (i) All Israel act together as a religious community, which was only possible after the exile.

26,700 Benjamites meet 400,000 of Israel in battle. Benjamin is exterminated, for they lose 25,000 men, yet in 20^{36b} the Israelites give ground before the few that are left.

2. The Priestly Code regulates the Nazarite vow in Num. 6¹⁻²¹; the vow is of a temporary nature.

Now, in the Samson narrative (1) it is his mother who is to abstain from wine (Num. 6^{3, 4}, Jg. 13¹⁴), (2) Samson does not abstain from wine (14¹⁰⁻¹⁷), and eats defiled food, namely, honey taken from a dead lion; the emphasis of the story is on his long hair, and the writer assumes

that this habit of Samson's marked him as a Nazarite.

It is quite possible that Samson was made a Nazarite. He is the only Nazarite mentioned in the O. T. by name.

Samuel and Kings.

- I. I S. I^{24, 25}. In v. 24 Hannah takes three bullocks to the sanctuary, but in v. 25 "the bullock" is referred to. Error is due to a wrong division of the consonantal text in the Hebrew; a right division turns the expression in v. 24 to "a bullock of three years old."
- I S. 4⁸. Egyptians are said to have been plagued "in the wilderness." This is a copyist's error for "and with pestilence."
- I S. 13¹. Saul's age is doubtfully put down as thirty; this is impossible, as Jonathan his son is a warrior of repute at the time.
- I S. 26²⁰. "To seek a flea" should be "to seek my life" (LXX.).
- 2 S. 15⁷. Absalom's rebellion takes place at the end of "forty years." This should read "four years," that is, after his reconciliation.
- 2 S. 21⁸. Michal ought to be Merab. Cf. I S. 18¹⁹.
2. (a) The ark was not with the children of Israel, but at Kirjath-Jearim (I S. 7¹). The R.V. mg. reads "ephod" instead of "ark," and this suits the sense and meaning of the passage.
- (b) Jerusalem was not captured by the Israelites till David was king, some years after his victory over Goliath.
- (c) David is called king whilst in flight from Saul.
3. The chief piece of evidence is in I S. 2¹⁰, where there is a reference to the king.

4. No. The incident is from a distinct source, for its religious standpoint is primitive, and not as advanced as in previous chapters. Samuel is not mentioned once, and the interest of the writer is in the Ark. The fate of Eli is of secondary interest, whereas it ought to be of primary interest after the events of the last chapter.
5. No. The address is full of Deuteronomic language and ideas (cf. 12¹⁴⁻¹⁵), and Samuel is referred to in the third person in v. 11.
6. If "Saul" be read in place of "Samuel" in 28¹², the incident is clearer. The witch is frightened, and we wonder at the cause, which could not have been the appearance of a spirit for she often brought spirits up from the dead. But if "Saul" is substituted in v. 12 the situation is explained, and Saul's remark, "Be not afraid," is apposite.
7. Three. 2 Sam. 7. David is forbidden to build the Temple, since the simple worship of Jehovah needed no elaborate sanctuary.
 1 K. 5³. He was hindered from building by his continuous wars, whilst Jehovah has given Solomon rest from foes.
 1 C. 22⁸. His hands were stained with blood.
8. Two. Comparing 2 S. 1¹⁻¹⁶ with David's words in 4⁹⁻¹¹, we notice that in the latter there is no Amalekite, nor is the messenger said to have claimed that he killed Saul, and David says that he himself slew the messenger, who in 1¹⁵ was slain by David's young men.

Now in 2 S. 1¹⁻¹⁶, vv. 1-4, 11, 12, agree with 4⁹⁻¹¹, and therefore is one version; and vv. 6-10, 13-16, will therefore be a second version. The editor inserted v. 5 to join his two sources.

We might notice that in 2 S. 1¹⁻¹⁶ there is a slightly different picture of Saul's last moments

than that of 1 S. 31. We have chariots and horsemen instead of archers, and Saul is unhurt, and stands leaning on his spear instead of being wounded.

9. In 2 S. 18¹⁸ Absalom has no son, but in 14²⁷ he has three sons and one daughter, and in 1 K. 15² a daughter is mentioned by name, Maacah.
10. Not by his long hair being caught in the branches of the forest trees, but by his head being wedged into an oak as he fled (2 S. 18^{9, 14}).
11. In 1 K. 13¹⁻³⁴, the tradition is untrustworthy, and of a late date since (1) the name Samaria is given to a province whereas the city has not yet been built (16³⁴); (2) the prediction of an unimportant event 350 years before its fulfilment is unusual in prophecy; (3) the names of the important personages in the incident are not given.
 2 K. 23¹⁶⁻²⁰ is from the same unreliable source; the altar described as destroyed in v. 15, is standing in v. 16.
12. The version in 1 S. 26 is more reliable, since in it David's companions are mentioned by name, against the vague "David and his men" of 24³, the religious conception is more suitable to the age (cf. 26²⁰ with 24²⁰), and there is more likelihood in the manner in which Saul falls into David's hands.
 It is probable that they are independent versions, for the absence of any reference in 1 S. 26 to a previous chivalrous action of David of a like nature is otherwise strange.
- 13, 14. The appendix to 2 Samuel consists of cc. 21-24, in which are two stories, two poems, and two lists of the great heroes of David's court and

army, with their remarkable exploits. They interrupt the main narrative of the book, which after c. 20 is continued in 1 K. 1.

Two of its contents are connected together, and may have come from one source :

C. 21¹⁻¹⁴. The three years' famine.

C. 24. The census and the three days' pestilence.

That there was a famine in the land, that David ordered a census, and that the country was ravaged by a pestilence, are all extremely likely. The Hebrew objection to a census is well known, and if a pestilence occurred during the census the religiously-minded people would unhesitatingly connect one with the other as cause and effect (see Conception of God, pp. 96, 97). The method of representation is quite after the ancient Hebrew method.

15. Probably not for the following reasons: (1) the name Elijah is peculiarly spelt in vv. 2-8, and only found once elsewhere in the O. T.; (2) the Angel of the Lord is, in the whole passage, not the personification of Jehovah, as is the common representation in the other prophetic biographies of Elijah, but is simply an angel or messenger of Jehovah; (3) the only discreditable act of Elijah's life is to be found in vv. 9-15, when he calls down fire from heaven on soldiers who were carrying out orders.
16. Ahaz was ten when his son was born! In 2 C. 28¹, Ahaz died at thirty-six, and Hezekiah was twenty-five when he succeeded his father (2 C. 29¹).
17. In 1 K. 8²², Solomon stands when he prays, but in v. 54 he rises from his kneeling posture.
In 1 K. 12²⁴, there is peace between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, but in 14³⁰ there is constant warfare.

- In 1 K. 18³⁰, the old altar is repaired and there was no need to build a new one (v. 32).
- In 1 K. 19^{11a}, Elijah is bidden to stand upon the Mount during the theophany, but in v. 13 he is in a cave.
- In 1 K. 21^{21-24, 29}, Ahab is forgiven and punishment is transferred to his son, but in 22³⁸ the dogs lick up his blood "according unto the word of the LORD which he spake." The writer of 22³⁸ quaintly tries to bring in some kind of correspondence between Ahab's death and the doom predicted by Elijah, but overlooks the latter's prediction that Ahab was to die in the same place as Naboth, and not at the pool of Samaria.
- In 2 K. 6²³ the bands of Syria come no more into the land of Israel, but in v. 24 Benhadad of Syria besieges Samaria.
- In 2 K. 14²³, Jeroboam begins to reign in the 15th year of Amaziah, who reigned twenty-nine years (14²⁻¹⁷). Therefore the first year of Azariah, who succeeded Amaziah, must have been the 15th of Jeroboam, and not the 27th (15¹).
- 2 K. 24¹² says the deportation took place in the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, whilst Jeremiah places it in the 7th year.
- 2 K. 24^{14, 16}. The number of captives varies.

HOW TO TEACH THE O.T.

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IN teaching O.T. stories to young children, the choice of stories and the mode of presentation are of the most vital importance. A child instinctively asks, "Is it true?" and a direct answer should be given where possible.

Two considerations bear closely in this connection. (1) Nothing taught to young children should be undone in more advanced childhood; for example, they should not be taught to believe that the sun actually stood still in Joshua's great battle, or that Balaam's ass spoke in fact, or that Jonah was really three days in the whale's belly. It is well nigh a hopeless task in later years to undo the child's idea that such events are not literally true, and to safeguard his faith in God and the Bible in manhood days. (2) Care should be taken not to let children get the idea that God is cruel, vindictive, and merciless, which they would infer by mere statements to the effect that Joshua was ordered by God to exterminate the Canaanites or Samuel to insist on the slaughter of the Amalekites. Subjects such as these mentioned could be faced and discussed with older children.

Careful preparation is therefore needed before a story is taught, and a few general hints may be of help to teachers.

1. Be frank with children. If there are two narratives of the same incident, as in the story of Joseph, teach them both. The method of discriminating between the strands of the Biblical account could be explained in the higher standards.

A good foundation will thus be laid for future development, and children will grow up with a firm conviction of the spiritual worth of the Bible, and realise that difficulties, as such, are no difficulties, which is as it should be.

2. Grasp first the spiritual and moral aim of the story, particularly in the first books of the O.T. To a Jew the aim of a story was everything, whilst the story itself was of secondary value; an English child prefers the story. The O.T. is the Jewish Bible, and to understand it we must approach it from the Jewish standpoint.

3. With young children, the story should be told in the teacher's own words.

4. The nearer the writers are to the incidents they describe, the more reliable are their records. The following is a summary in general terms of the reliability of the stories :

The early narratives of Genesis—names and incidents are both unhistorical.

The Patriarchal narratives—names partly historical and the incidents have some foundation of fact which it is not always easy to discover.

Moses to the Judges—names true in the main, and the incidents have a basis of fact which is fairly easily traceable.

Samuel and Kings—names and incidents generally true, for some sources are unreliable.

The Prophets, Ezra and Nehemiah, almost wholly reliable.

It will be noticed that the easiest stories to teach young children are those of the last two groups mentioned, but through a strange irony it has been the general rule to teach infants the early narratives of Genesis, which is an impossible task, and to teach seniors the later and more reliable books.

With SENIORS, care should be taken to give the true history first, and then to shew from the Bible itself how it is represented by the writers. Teachers should discuss ancient and modern ideas of God, morality, religion, and modes of expression; they should face the facts lest the senior scholars should leave school under the impression that the teachers were afraid and unable to explain the problems of the O.T.

SCHEME OF LESSONS.

To be taught on lines suggested in the pages following.

JUNIORS.

INFANTS	8-10.	10-12
<p>God's love and care ; principles of life and conduct.</p> <p>Stories of</p> <p>Abraham.</p> <p>Isaac.</p> <p>Jacob.</p> <p>Joseph.</p> <p>Moses. Birth and early life.</p> <p>Samuel. Birth and early life.</p> <p>David. Childhood, anointing, spares Saul's life, friendship with Jonathan.</p> <p>Ruth.</p> <p>Esther.</p> <p>Daniel.</p>	<p>Ethical demands of God. His rule in history.</p> <p>Stories from lives of</p> <p>Moses.</p> <p>Joshua.</p> <p>Gideon.</p> <p>Samson.</p> <p>David.</p> <p>Solomon.</p> <p>Elijah.</p> <p>Hezekiah.</p> <p>Isaiah.</p> <p>Josiah.</p> <p>Jeremiah.</p> <p>Nehemiah.</p> <p>Judas Maccabeus.</p>	<p>General history of Israelites from Abraham to the Judges.</p> <p>Lives in outline of</p> <p>Samuel.</p> <p>Saul.</p> <p>David.</p> <p>Solomon.</p> <p>Prophets as in Chap. III.</p> <p>How O.T. books were written.</p>

SENIORS.

FIRST YEAR.	SECOND YEAR.
<p>General history from Joshua to the Return from Exile.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Using the Bible, and 2. Illustrating from lessons how O.T. books were written, and the growing conception of God. 3. Emphasising the Messianic Hope. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Schools of writers and their aims, with special study, using the Bible, of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The early narratives of Genesis. The Patriarchs. Life of Moses. 2. Conception of God. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Miracles. 3. Between the O.T. and N.T.

THE EARLY NARRATIVES OF GENESIS.

FOR SENIORS ONLY.

REFER TO PAGES

Chapters I.-XI. are not history, but parables of the world's childhood.	182, 183.
<i>First creation story.</i> 1-2 ^{4a} .	
Aim of writer (P). God's omnipotence and transcendence ; man's divine origin.	
The creation in 6 earthly days.	162-167.
Jewish ideas of the universe.	
Point out the peculiarities of style and religious outlook.	14-18.
<i>Second creation story.</i> 2 ^{4b-25} .	
Aim of writer (J). To explain man's lowly origin and the inferior position of women in the East.	
Point out	
1. The differences between this and the first creation story.	17.
2. The peculiarities of style and the anthropomorphic conception of God.	
Notice in the story—the symbolical names of two special trees, man under discipline, sympathy with animals, instinct of love between man and woman and their innocence.	
<i>The Fall.</i> 3.	
Aim of J. To shew not the origin but the consequences of sin.	
Point out style and anthropomorphisms.	18, 19, 116.
The serpent talks but does not use the sacred name Jehovah.	84, 171.
Notice—the sense of shame as the result of the knowledge of sin. Man ought not to pander to sin but overcome it.	
Access to the garden is prevented not “by an angel with a flaming sword,” but	

SENIORS.

REFER TO PAGES

by (1) Cherubim and (2) by the flame of a sword which turned every way.

The Promise of Redemption.

149, 150.

Cain and Abel. 4¹⁻¹⁶.

Aim of J. To shew how sin spreads, is transmitted to children and results in violent deeds.

Notice—1. Style and anthropomorphisms.

2. Incomplete sources and many questions therefore unanswered.

18, 19.

3. Writer has a second story of Cain that he was the builder of cities.

Ante-diluvian Patriarchs. 5.

19, 140.

Ten Patriarchs between the Creation and the Flood, covering a period of 1656 years. The years are ordinary years, and the assumption that they are shorter than the years of later times is ridiculous; the longevity of the patriarchs is due to popular legend, and as legend gives place to history, so the duration of life descends in scale.

The writer P had a theory that a period of 4000 years would elapse between the Creation and the Messianic Age, and that 2666 years elapsed between the Creation and the Exodus.

76, 225.

On Enoch, see p. 96.

The Flood. 6¹⁻⁹²⁹.

Aim of narrative. A Jewish belief that God punished the wicked and rewarded the righteous.

6¹⁻⁸ is a story of Hebrew mythology to account for the wickedness of the world and the appearance of a lawless generation; the sons of God are supernatural beings.

SENIORS.

REFER TO PAGES

Work out the two stories of the flood, and point out their differences of style, conception of God, and facts. 19-24, 16. 217.

[Combine a story written by a teacher and scholar, and shew how differences of style appear in the combination and how portions of each account are discarded.]

The tower of Babel. 11¹⁻⁹.

Aim of J. To explain the origins of the gigantic ruined towers of Babylon (=Babel) and of the many races dwelling on plains round the city.

The story connects Babylon with an impious attempt of a generation that had tried to reach the solid vault of heaven.

Notice how the writer puts into Jehovah's mouth words of fear lest man should rival God. 11⁶, cf. 3²². 16.

THE PATRIARCHS.

FOR JUNIORS.

REFER TO PAGES

In teaching the stories of the Patriarchs to infants and young children, we have to remember constantly that whilst the men and women may be real yet the incidents are mostly imaginary (but serve a religious purpose), being drawn from Bedouin life, that the Patriarchs knew less of God than our children know of Him and His love, that the men and women we meet with in these stories are typical of the spiritual aspirations and sinfulness of men and women of all times.

In the outlines given below, the sign = explains difficult passages for the purpose of presentation; passages referred to without the sign of equality may be taught as in the Bible.

ABRAHAM.

Ancestor of the Jewish race; gets a new conception of God. 78-83, 95.

First test of faith. To renounce the past and to face an uncertain future. Leaves his home assured of God's blessing (= 12¹⁻⁴). Takes his wife and nephew Lot. Goes to Canaan and lives the life of a nomad. 79, 80, 186.

Lot separates from Abraham (13¹⁻¹¹) and chooses a beautiful but wicked country; is taken captive but delivered by Abraham (14^{1-17a, 21-24}). 217.

Lot is selfish, thinks of worldly success, chooses life of ease, even though it involves dwelling among the wicked. In the end the man once rich (13⁵) has to live in want. 185.

Ishmael. Sarah in her old age bears a son (21¹⁻⁸). 75, 76.

THE PATRIARCHS.

FOR SENIORS.

REFER TO PAGES

The stories of the Patriarchs are like those of historical novels; they have some historical bases which are hidden in popular stories associated with the lives of the Patriarchs. There are often duplicate accounts of the same incident, shewing how different writers explained a common tradition.

The initial lesson should be an outline of the probable history of the Jews from Abraham to the sojourn in Egypt.

The following lessons may then be taught, the spiritual aim behind the narrative being emphasised. The characters of the various individuals are given on the opposite pages for Juniors.

ABRAHAM.

Conception of God. First test of faith.

Lot. Purpose of narrative is to portray Abraham as a warrior (14¹⁻¹⁷, 21-24); historical background of narrative.

Abraham and Melchizedek (14¹⁸⁻²⁰). A story interrupting the main narrative to shew that Jerusalem had a historic right to be the centre of worship, and that the Jews should pay tithes to maintain the Temple and its priesthood.

Sodom and Gomorrah (18¹⁶-19²⁸ J, except 19²⁹ P). A story in J's style to explain the barrenness and sterility of the Dead Sea region and the origin of a remarkable pinnacle of salt.

Hagar and Ishmael. Aim of duplicate narratives (16¹⁻⁴ J, 21⁸⁻²¹ E) to shew that Ishmael though an older branch

183-188.

78-83, 95,
132-133.
230.

19, 24, 25.

75.

JUNIORS.

REFER TO PAGES

Hagar and Ishmael driven out ; the fugitives discover water (=vv. 17-19a) and live in the desert. 75.

[" God said " in v. 12 =it was revealed to Abraham by night, v. 14.]

Second test of faith. The Sacrifice of Isaac (22¹⁻¹⁵). 82, 83, 133.

Was Jehovah like the other gods in requiring Abraham to offer up his only son at a sanctuary on Mt. Moriah (=vv. 1, 2) ? He is uncertain until the very last moment when he realises that his God does not require a human sacrifice (=vv. 11, 12). Perhaps the providential appearance of the ram was interpreted as God's answer.

Character of Abraham. Devotion to God shewn by separation from idolatrous world ; life of obedience, the friend of God, willing to trust Him absolutely. Courteous, gentle, hospitable, has his faults (12¹⁰-13² J ; 20¹⁻¹⁷, 21²²⁻³² E), but for his times he is wonderful ; he towers above the men and women around him. 27.

ISAAC.

His marriage ; a love story of Bedouin life. Jewish aloofness, no intermarriage with heathen. (24.) 186.

Character. Type of a quiet life of trustful repose in God. As a son he is ideal.

JACOB AND ESAU.

The birth-right. (25²¹⁻³⁴.) The emphasis should be laid on the carelessness of Esau who despised a gift of God. (Heb. 12¹⁶.) Jacob's cleverness appealed to the eastern mind.

Jacob's deceit. (27¹⁻⁴⁵.) Jacob objects to Rebekah's plan, not because of its

SENIORS

REFER TO PAGES

of Israel was considered inferior by Israel and held degraded by his marriage with an Egyptian.

ISAAC.

Prediction of birth (18¹⁻¹⁵ J). This gives a good idea of Bedouin hospitality. It is based on a tradition which connected Isaac's name with laughter. 75, 76.

The sacrifice of Isaac. See opposite.

Marriage. Notice the thought of the providence of God. Tribal history.

Mention *Abraham's peril of faith* and honour. A heathen acts more honourably. 27.

In Egypt (12¹⁰⁻¹³ J).

At Gerar (20¹⁻¹⁷, 21²²⁻³² E).

Character. See opposite.

JACOB AND ESAU.

The hostility of the Israel and Esau-Edom tribes is by the writer traced back to the very beginnings of their existence (25²¹⁻²⁶). A study of the prophet Obadiah will prove instructive. 184.

In the story of the Blessing (27¹⁻⁴⁶) the Edomite is outwitted by the Israelite. 217.

JUNIORS

REFER TO PAGES

deception, but because of the risk of discovery.

Jacob in flight. Two explanations of the cause of it (27⁴⁵ J) and (27⁴⁶-28⁹ P). His dream (28¹⁰⁻²²). 76, 224.
25, 26.

In Haran (29-30). He is now made to suffer by a deception. In olden days marriage with two sisters not considered objectionable.

Character of Jacob. At first treacherous and deceitful, he overcomes his failings and becomes a man of prayer. Esau is undisciplined, and has no spiritual desires and impulses, but is generous.

Jacob's return. At Mahanaim a change in his character begins ; he is assured of God's presence (=32¹⁻²).

His prayer at Esau's approach (32³⁻¹²).

His present to Esau (32¹³⁻²¹).

At the brook Jabbok. His fears increased by darkness. Prayer and a spiritual struggle, intensified by suffering. He is a changed man (=32²²⁻³²). No longer is he deceitful. 95, 96.

Meeting with Esau (33¹⁻¹⁷).

JOSEPH (37, 39-50).

Two stories may be traced.

If combined into one narrative, care should be taken to present the divergencies somewhat as follows : 27-30.

" After Joseph was put in the pit, he was stolen by the Midianites. Some thought he was sold to the Ishmaelites for 20 pieces of silver, etc."

So again : " Some said the money was discovered in the lodging house, others at home, etc."

SENIORS

REFER TO PAGES

Point out. Two explanations are given of Jacob's flight. In 27⁴⁵, which is continued in 28¹⁰ (J), it is due to fear of Esau, and in 27⁴⁶-28⁹ (P) it is that he might search for a wife. 76, 224.

Jacob's dream. 25, 26.

His return. Here the historical basis may be a fresh emigration. 186.

Jacob's return.

The story of his wrestling (32²²⁻³²) is one of the explanations of the origin of the name Israel. There is a second version in 35¹⁰ P. 26, 27.

JOSEPH.

A story which shews us how the Israelites went into Egypt. 27-30.

Call attention to the differences in the narrative due to the combination of two strands.

Note. The Blessing of Jacob is of late origin. 223.

The care of burial. 154.

How BOOKS WERE WRITTEN. 1-8.

JUNIORS

REFER TO PAGES

Character. Type of purity and stability ; proves himself worthy of trust in small and great things, not revengeful nor spoilt by success, willing to forgive, spending himself in service for others, and seeing God's over-ruling providence in all his life.

MOSES.

The life of Moses may be presented thus.

Aim. God's providence watches over the chosen people. God's love in spite of ingratitude.

Birth and early life—a few centuries after Joseph (Ex. 1-2¹⁵).

Steps taken to check growth in numbers of Israelites, (1) 1⁸⁻¹⁴ ; (2) 1¹⁵⁻²² ; (3) 1²².

Life in Midian (2¹⁶⁻²²).

Visit to Sinai, the supposed dwelling place of God (3¹).

83-87.

Becomes conscious of a call to deliver the Israelites.

Difficulties faced and overcome by self-communion.

(i) Was he, a fugitive, a fit leader ?
Yes, God was with him
(= 3¹¹⁻¹²).

(ii) What was God's name to be ?
The name should indicate to the Israelites the nature, power, and character of God. Decides to adopt the name Jehovah (= 3¹³⁻²²).

Returns to Jethro (4¹⁸) and goes to Egypt (4^{29, 31}).

The Deliverance. Appeal to the Pharaoh fails, oppression increased (5¹⁻²¹).

SENIORS

REFER TO PAGES

MOSES.

Give an outline of the history to the deliverance from Egypt.	188-192, 76.
<i>Note.</i> Four difficulties faced and overcome by Moses before he set about the task of deliverance. Two given by J and two by E. The Burning Bush is a sensuous method of representing Sinai as God's dwelling-place (=3 ²⁻⁷).	217, 231.
Point out. Two versions of the call of Moses to deliver the Israelites. 3 ¹⁻⁶ JE, 6 ²⁻⁷ P.	76, 227, 10-11.
Emphasise his conception of God, and the value of it.	83-87, 95.
<i>The Plagues.</i>	
Give J's account and compare with other writers.	31-35, 168.

JUNIORS

REFER TO PAGES

Land visited by calamities, providentially sent by God ; more severe than people were accustomed to.	31-35 (J's list).
The Pharaoh told that they were sent by Jehovah, but he is obstinate.	97, 168.
Last came a pestilence which killed best manhood of the nation. Israelites set free, depart in haste ; number about 5000 (=7 ¹⁴ -12).	97.
Journey to the Red Sea (=13 ¹⁷ -14 ⁴). Israelites murmur (14 ⁵⁻¹⁴). God sends a wind which saves them.	77, 226.
<i>In the Wilderness.</i> Describe common dangers and difficulties, e.g. :	173, 188.
Food. Discovery of an edible gum, called Manna, and flights of quails (=16).	190, 191.
Water, obtained from streams (=17 ¹⁻⁷) and by purifying by casting in branch of a tree (=15 ²³⁻²⁵).	174.
Attacks by Amalekites who resent Israelites living on their preserves (17 ⁸⁻¹³).	
<i>At Mt. Sinai</i> , sacred as God's dwelling place. Israelites sanctify themselves. People frightened by thunder and lightning on mount (20 ¹⁸⁻²¹). Moses goes up the mount, and writes out Ten Commandments, returns, builds an altar, and makes a covenant (24 ⁴⁻⁹). Goes up again with Joshua (24 ^{13, 14, 18}).	191, 218.
<i>The Worship of the Golden Calf</i> (32 ^{1-6, 15, 17-24}). Anger of Moses, breaks the two tables of stone, and later rewrites the Commandments.	11-13, 96.
<i>The Tent.</i> Israelite sanctuary outside the camp (33 ⁷⁻¹¹). To go into a sanctuary means to appear before the LORD.	44.
<i>At Kadesh and after.</i>	218.
Spies sent to Canaan (Num. 13 ^{17-24, 26b-31, 33, 14^{1-4, 8, 9}}).	35-37, 86.
	91, 217.
	39.

SENIORS

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The Plagues as miracles.	97, 168.
The Lord hardened the Pharaoh's heart.	34, 97.
Number of Israelites who escaped (Ex. 1 ⁹⁻¹⁵).	77, 226,
Point out two versions of the Passover.	217.
The Passage of the Red Sea.	173.

In the wilderness.

Give an outline of history, and shew how dangers were overcome.	190, 191.
The representation brings out God's providence.	174.
See opposite.	

At Mt. Sinai.

Point out different accounts of :	86.
1. The Theophany.	218.
2. The giving of the Law.	218.
Emphasise the value of the Decalogue ; and call attention to various versions of it.	11-13, 42-45, 56-57, 96.
The worship of the Golden Calf.	218.

The Tent. Point out that P magnified the simple Tent (33¹⁻¹¹) into a gorgeous Tabernacle to glorify the Temple and the Priesthood. 35-37, 86, 217.

Moses legislating. 18⁵⁻²⁷. Beginnings of customary law ; codes of law come later, e.g. Book of the Covenant. 55, 136. 43, 55, 77, 136.

At Kadesh and after.

Give story in outline.	218. 191, 39.
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JUNIORS

REFER TO PAGES

Dismay of people at report ; they murmur at decision of Moses to remain in the wilderness (= 14 ¹⁴⁻³⁹), attempt to enter Canaan but fail (14 ⁴⁰⁻⁴⁵).	191.
Rebellion of Dathan and Abiram (16 ¹²⁻¹⁵ , 25-34).	39-41.
Judah breaks away and enters Canaan ; other tribes advance (20 ^{14-22a}).	191.
Story of Balaam as given by Num. 22 ⁸⁻¹⁰ , 12-16, 19-21, 36-41, 23 ¹⁻²⁶ , 24 ²⁵ .	41-42.
Death of Moses (Deut. 34). Notice in v. 1, The LORD shewed him = Moses saw, and in v. 2, the LORD said = Moses thought to himself.	191.

JOSHUA AND THE JUDGES.

Joshua becomes leader of the tribes of Joseph and decides to capture Jericho.	192-199.
The following incidents may be taught :	
1. The story of the spies (2) followed by a statement that acting on their report Joshua attacked and captured Jericho.	39, 218.
2. The capture of Ai by stratagem (8 ³⁻²⁹), omitting references to the slaughter of inhabitants.	218, 88, 89.
3. The story of the Gibeonites (9 and 10, omitting 10 ¹²⁻⁴³).	97, 172.
End up by saying that it was many years before the country was altogether captured.	196, 197.

SENIORS

REFER TO PAGES

Point out the different traditions which grew up round the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram.

39-41.

In the advance to the Jordan, call attention to

1. The striking of the rock at Meribah.

191.

2. The brazen serpent—a tradition founded on a common belief that pests could be removed by images.

3. The story of Balaam. Two versions of it; the anthropomorphisms of J.

41, 42,
228.

The Messianic hope.

149, 150,
154.

4. Death of Moses.

72, 75,
222, 223.

5. Moses as author.

See Index.

JOSHUA AND THE JUDGES.

Study first the geographical features of Canaan; then give an outline of the conquests of Joshua as leader of the Joseph tribes, and explain that the conquests were incomplete.

192-199,
58.

This should be followed by a study of the Book of Joshua.

193, 194.

The following points should be alluded to:

The Story of the Spies.

39, 218.

The traditions connected with the crossing of the Jordan.

218.

The Theophany (5¹³⁻¹⁵)—a story to account for the great hopes held by Joshua.

The Capture of Jericho by assault. How represented by writers. The slaughter of the inhabitants. Why done?

172, 218,
195.
88, 89.

The Battle of Beth-horon and the poetical quotation in the record.

97, 172.

The death and work of Joshua.

197.

JUNIORS

REFER TO PAGES

After Joshua's death, the tribes had to fight against their enemies ; they were led by heroes, called Judges or deliverers. Describe the danger to their religion.

199-201.
87-99.

The following stories may then be taught :

Gideon. The oppression by Midian (6¹⁻⁶).

Gideon conscious of a call (=6⁷⁻²⁴) decides to throw down first an altar of Baal (=6²⁵⁻²⁷), and does so (6²⁷⁻³²). He next decides (=the LORD said in 7^{2, 4, 5, 7 . . .}) to reduce his army, visits the Midianite camp and gains a victory (7).

Samson. Not a deliverer, but a man fighting for his own hand. A few stories of his prowess may be given.

90, 218.

Ruth. An idyll in an age of lawlessness and conflict.

199.

SAMUEL TO THE EXILE.

SAMUEL AND SAUL.

His birth, dedication, and life at Shiloh, where he acted as a boy-priest (1-2²⁶).

201-204.

Vision in the house of God (3¹⁻⁴).

Saul anointed King (9-10¹⁶).

Saul's victory at Jabesh-gilead (11¹⁻¹⁵).

War with Philistines, Jonathan's exploit, and escape from death (13^{2-7, 15^{b-18}, 14}).

The anointing of David (15^{35^b-16¹³}).

SENIORS

REFER TO PAGES

The Judges.

Emphasise

1. The religious conflict.

55-56, 87-99.

2. The warfare of various tribes.

199-201.

Discuss the following points connected with the stories :

1. Deborah and Barak. The morality of Jael's act.

199.

2. Gideon. The representation of his call to be a judge. Jehovah as leader of the armies of Israel. People not prepared for kingship (8²²⁻²⁸). Two accounts of his wars.

218.

88.

3. Jephthah. Jehovah as God of Canaan only.

89, 218.

His vow, an ancient method of securing divine help.

4. Samson. Birth represented as miraculous to account for his prowess.

Not a strict Nazarite, but a popular hero.

90, 218.

Does something for his country only at death.

SAMUEL TO THE EXILE.

SAMUEL AND SAUL.

First call attention to the reasons for discriminating various sources, and study each source in outline.

58, 201-204, 217.

Bring out the following points :

Hannah's song ; late composition.

219.

The Magnificat like it.

The Loss of the Ark—a true incident in J's style, with old conceptions of God.

91, 219.

DAVID.

Stories from his life from sections and according to references.	207, 208.
Emphasise points in his character and why Jews thought him an ideal king.	209, 64, 96, 150.
Notice David's constant appeal to the oracle.	91, 96, 135, 136.

SOLOMON.

Stories from his life as sketched.	211, 212.
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ELIJAH.

The meaning of the conflict with Baal.	93-99.
The victory on Mt. Carmel.	174.
Lives of the <i>Prophets</i> based on Chapter III.	
<i>Josiah</i> . (2 K. 22 ¹ -23 ³⁰ .)	214.
Life of <i>Jeremiah</i> .	
The Exile and its meaning. How God used it to serve His purpose.	123-129, 215.

SENIORS

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Plague attributed to the presence of the Ark.	87-99.
The beginnings of prophecy in the diviners.	104-106, 133.
DAVID.	
Sketch of life.	207, 208.
How to distinguish various sources.	89, 204- 206, 219.
The oracle and its use.	91, 96, 135, 136.
His character and his religious conceptions.	89, 96, 97, 209, 211.
His position in history.	149, 151.
The idealisation in <i>Chronicles</i> .	60, 64, 76.
SOLOMON TO THE FALL OF SAMARIA.	
Study outlines sketched out, noting	211-213.
The work of Elijah and Elisha.	93-99.
The Elisha miracles. Why untrustworthy.	169-171, 174, 220.
The rise of Prophecy. The first great prophets—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah.	99-103, 106-117, 129-131.
The rise of Assyria.	107-123.
JUDAH AND THE EXILE.	
Study the history in outline, noticing the effect of the Exile on Religion. The history should clearly bring out these great characters :	214, 215, 123-129.
Hezekiah and Isaiah.	214, 176, 220; 111- 117.
Josiah.	214, 53, 54
Jeremiah.	117-123, 102.
GENERAL STUDY. The beginnings of Hebrew literature.	65-74.
The Messianic Hope.	149-157, 181.

JUNIORS

REFER TO PAGES

THE RETURN FROM EXILE.

The Rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra 5-6¹⁸).

Story of Esther.

Nehemiah's life (1-7).

*Between the O.T. and N.T.*Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc. 3¹-6⁵⁵).

Daniel—a book written giving stories, popular but not authentic, of Daniel in order to encourage Jews to fight for their religion. Two aims :

1. To shew God was ruling the world and guiding history.

The dream of Nebuchadnezzar.

The writing on the wall.

2. To urge Jews to be true to their religion in times of severe trial.

The Image.

The Fiery Furnace.

The Den of Lions.

146-148,
181.

SENIORS

REFER TO PAGES

THE RETURN FROM EXILE.

Follow outline as given, emphasising	215-217.
The growth of the Scribes.	
The influence of Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah.	103, 123- 129.
The work of the Priestly School.	54, 55, 68- 71, 138- 139.
<i>Between the O.T. and N.T.</i>	
The writing of <i>Jonah</i> .	178, 181.
The Story of the Maccabees.	
The production of The Poetical Books. Wisdom Literature.	140-148.
Apocalyptic (Daniel, see opposite).	
The Canon of the O.T.	158-161.

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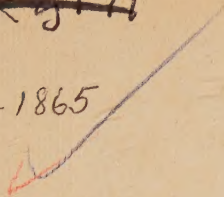
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